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For several years prior to the 1954 Supreme Court decision, members of St. Louis social institutions and agencies, both private and public, sought to incorporate the principles of American democracy into their planning. Planning was aimed at fostering a climate favorable to St. Louis' acceptance of the school desegregation decision. These organizations sought to bring to the program a wide range of skills and abilities in order to build communication lines between persons of both races. A review of experiences in other localities, compared to those of St. Louis, indicated that rapid desegregation shortens the period of anxiety and stress and gains general community acceptance in less time.

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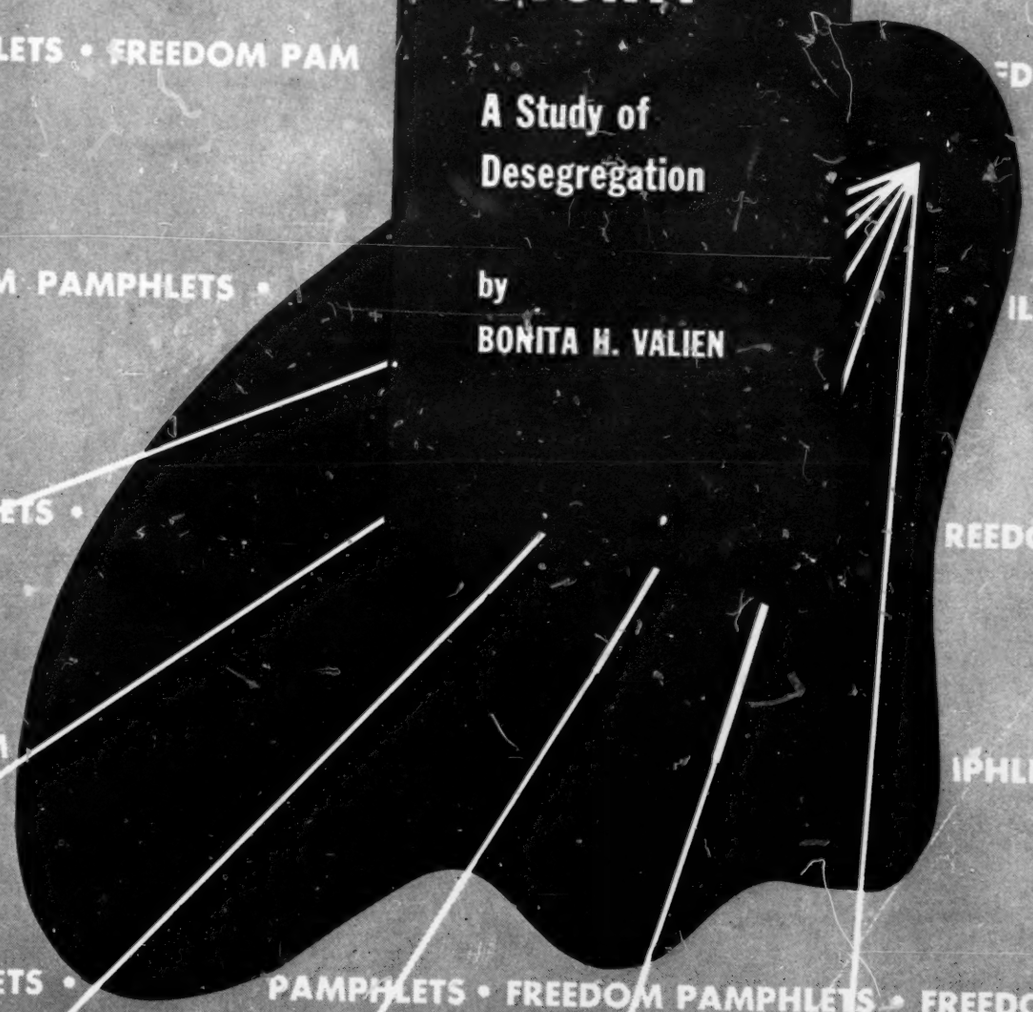
THE ST. LOUIS STORY:

A Study of Desegregation

by

BONITA H. VALIEN



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THE ST. LOUIS STORY:

A Study of Desegregation

by
BONITA H. VALIEN

Office of Education-EEOP
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This pamphlet is based in part upon a master's thesis written in May, 1955, by INEZ CRENSHAW BOYD, a teacher on leave in the St. Louis Public Schools, and a part-time instructor in the Department of Social Sciences, Fisk University.

RUTH M. SCHWARTZ, of the Anti-Defamation League, prepared the manuscript for publication.

FOREWORD

American democracy rests upon the ethical principles of the essential dignity of the individual, the fundamental equality of all men, and the inalienable right of all persons to freedom, justice and equal opportunity. Though the ideal development of these principles has not yet been fully realized in our present-day society, this still remains our fundamental goal as we work to narrow the gap between principle and practice.

In working toward these goals, we notice an interesting fact: when, in the interest of national integrity and group welfare, we act through such collective bodies as the church, the school, trade unions and other social institutions, we tend to rise above our personal interests and prejudices and subordinate them to the larger ideals of American democracy of which our institutions are symbols and which they must serve.

This is exactly what happened in St. Louis. For over a period of several years prior to the Supreme Court decision on school desegregation, the members of St. Louis social institutions and agencies, both public and private, had consistently sought to incorporate these principles of American democracy into their own social planning. It was the collective planning of the people in these agencies—slow and undramatic perhaps—that was actually responsible for fostering a climate favorable to St. Louis' acceptance of the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision. Of equal importance was the ability of these organizations to bring to the program their facilities and the wide range of skills of their individual members, as well as their ability to create lines of communication between persons of both races interested in sound social planning.

The St. Louis story is an account of an evolving democracy—still in the process of achievement—but with a dedicated citizenry determined to apply intelligence, common sense, courage and skill in facilitating orderly and positive democratic social change. In short, it is an exemplification of the American democratic process in action.

B. H. V.

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CHAPTER I

THE ST. LOUIS COMMUNITY

St. Louis is in the state of Missouri, and from its beginning, Missouri has been a state of contradictions. Admitted to the Union in 1820 as a slave state under the Missouri Compromise, but free from the economic pressures which drove the more southerly states into secession, Missouri remained in the Union during the Civil War though perhaps her traditions and sympathies inclined her toward the seceding states. Paying homage to this historical sympathy, Missouri enacted segregation laws during the period when such laws were being adopted in the rest of the South.

Missouri law still prohibits racial intermarriage. The State Constitution adopted in 1875 provided that "separate schools shall be established for children of African descent" (Article 11, Section 3); in 1945 this was revised to read ". . . separate schools shall be provided for white and colored children, except in cases otherwise provided by law" (Article 9, Section 1a). While accepting the United States Supreme Court decision, the legislature in its 1954 session refused to repeal its law providing for racial segregation in education—on the argument that such an action should await the Supreme Court's final implementation decree.

Throughout Missouri's history, this ambivalence has persisted. While the state's customs and mores reflect the South to a considerable extent, Howard Odum's *Southern Regions of the United States* places Missouri, economically and politically, with the middle states. Using a variety of indices—wealth, educational expenditures, proportion of farm to urban population—Missouri appears more akin to her northern neighbors than to those to the south.

Reflecting to a considerable degree the Southern side of this dual position is Missouri's largest city, St. Louis, located at the state's eastern border on the Mississippi River. Once a slave-holding city and the site of the famous Dred Scott decision (". . . a

Negro has no rights which the white man is bound to respect . . ."), a pattern of social exclusion has characterized the St. Louis community from its beginnings.

Sociologically, the early history of St. Louis mirrors many of the same patterns which regulate any Southern community. As previously noted, state law prohibited racial intermarriage and required racially segregated schools. While a St. Louis ordinance required equal service in restaurants operated in municipal buildings, until recently Negroes were excluded as a matter of policy from hotels, restaurants, motion picture theatres and similar licensed places catering to white persons. Also, although certain facilities of the municipal park and playground system were open to all citizens, until 1949 the Division of Parks and Recreation followed the practice of segregation in playgrounds, swimming pools and community centers. And while the streetcars and buses, the Municipal Auditorium and the Municipal Opera featured no racial restrictions, custom, reinforced by restrictive covenants (now termed "unenforceable"), limited Negroes to well-defined neighborhoods and their employment for the most part to unskilled and semi-skilled jobs.

While many of the early patterns still persist, the St. Louis community has been undergoing changes for many years, the most notable advances having been made in the years following World War II.

The Negro Progression: Population Pushes Economy

A highly industrialized, mobile and heterogeneous community, St. Louis, the nation's eighth largest city, has grown from a population of 4,598, when its first census was taken in 1820, to an estimated January, 1956 population of 841,000. However, whatever growth the city has experienced within the past 20 years or more can be attributed almost entirely to an increase in the Negro population. In the decade of 1930-40, for example, the white population showed a loss of 2.87 per cent, while the Negro total increased by 16.22 per cent. Again, in 1940-50, the Negroes showed a striking increase of 41.37 per cent while the whites continued to lose, this time slightly under 1 per cent.

In relation to St. Louis' total population, the Negroes have grown from 6.2 per cent of the total in 1900, to 13.3 per cent in 1940, and to 20 per cent in 1954.

It is significant to note that while between the years of 1950 and 1956, the *city* of St. Louis showed an overall *decrease* of 16,000 in its total population figures (U.S. Census estimate, January, 1956), the surrounding *metropolitan area* showed an *increase* of 227,000. This increase in the population of the metropolitan area is largely due to a shift in the white population.

Typical of what is happening in most American cities, the older middle-class white families, as they improve their economic status, are moving out of the city into the suburbs. The poorer in-migrating laboring class, a large part of which is Negro, is filling up the old housing which the middle-class whites are vacating. For all practical purposes, Negroes are taking over more and more of the city while the whites are occupying the outlying areas. While the metropolitan area will continue to expand, the future growth of the city population would seem to depend, to a large extent, upon an increase in the Negro population. This increase in the Negro population and shift in the white population has had a profound influence on the position of the Negro in the St. Louis economy.

The direction of change and the comparative position of the Negro in the St. Louis community is revealed in a recent survey made by two Washington University professors and the Urban League. This study revealed that, educationally, the gap between Negroes and whites has been practically closed; the median number of school years completed by whites does not exceed that completed by non-whites by more than one school year. Politically, too, the Negro is becoming increasingly more active, and there is Negro political representation at both the city and state level. During 1956, a Negro was appointed a circuit court judge—the first in Missouri's history.

The Negro's economic position shows a favorable direction of change in education, training, occupational classification and industrial attachment. Within recent years, Negroes have been upgraded in numerous job categories and there has been a movement of Negroes from service and domestic jobs into heavy industry and better-paying jobs in the durable goods area. The younger Negro is achieving a higher occupational and industrial status than those in the older age classifications—approximately three out of every five Negroes from 20 to 29 years work in the six top-ranking occupational categories. Despite these gains, the

unemployment rate for Negroes is appreciably higher than that for whites, and the extent to which the Negro will be able to maintain these gains will depend largely upon the ability of the St. Louis economy to maintain full employment. The Negro is still the last to be hired and the first fired, and there remains a high proportion of educated Negroes working at levels lower than their educational status would indicate.

Labor unions are playing an increasingly important role in the St. Louis economy, and the improved occupational status of the Negro can be attributed, to some extent, to this union affiliation. However, there are still unions which operate on a segregated basis, and some craft unions and railroad brotherhoods do not admit Negroes to membership at all. One of the first actions of the Negro board member of the St. Louis Board of Education, after their adoption of the desegregation program, was to ask for the appointment of a special board committee to investigate the hiring of all school employees on an integrated basis. The charge that hundreds of jobs—among them those for carpenters, painters and electricians—are being denied to Negroes was countered by pointing to the fact that the problem is complicated because some labor unions do not admit Negroes to membership.

As to income, the Negro's position is much improved. The proportion of Negroes in the lower brackets has decreased while the percentage in the higher brackets has increased. In general, however, by the end of 1953 the Negro still had not reached the economic position attained by whites in 1950. Although St. Louis ranks ninth in average white income, it is fifteenth in average Negro income.

A Community Crisis: Cause and Effect

In a community where there is an expanding population, and such public facilities as schools, playgrounds and community centers operate on a segregated basis, any substantial movement of population results in competition over those facilities in borderline areas. In the absence of a just and well-defined policy, this competition almost inevitably results in the type of open conflict which occurred in St. Louis in 1949.

The disturbance revolved around a facility of the Division of Parks and Recreation. Because of the relevance this incident had in focusing community attention on the need to face realistically

the changes going on in the community, as well as the importance of community preparation in the area of human relations, it must be given more than passing attention.

The Division of Parks and Recreation had no clear-cut statement of racial policy on the use of recreational facilities. Without legal support, the administration had simply met each problem of race relations by either side-stepping the issue or balancing the pressures. Thus, the basis on which the determination of whether a particular playground should be white or Negro depended on the pressures within the locality. With reference to policy, one public official said at the time of the disturbance, "We try to work out an arrangement that will please both groups." Without expressed policies, and without any planning or instruction of personnel, the handling of crisis situations was such as to encourage aggressive action. No efforts were made to provide for the orderly transition from one type of use to another, or to prepare the people in borderline areas to accept a sharing of facilities. Playgrounds were shifted from white to Negro use under duress.

But for some time, the traditional exclusion of Negroes from municipal swimming pools had been subjected to challenge. The responsible public officials, confronted with the problem, saw no legal basis for continuing the exclusion and said so. Accordingly, in June, 1949, it was publicly announced that the city-owned outdoor swimming pools, previously restricted to use by whites only, were to be open to both Negroes and whites. "The announcement," said one observer, "just seemed to have come out of the blue." Staff members expected to implement the change had not been notified. The first knowledge that the community had of the change was a front-page newspaper announcement. The radio, through frequent spot announcements, beamed the news to the city. The result was that while Negro children appeared at three swimming pools and one wading pool and participated without difficulty, at one pool, located at Fairgrounds Park, a near riot occurred, stimulated by a loosely-organized gang of boys and young men ranging in age from 17 to 23. These boys had a history of being trouble-makers. They were the type, found in nearly any community, who become aroused in tension situations and are momentarily dangerous people.

Rumor and tension ran high on the day of the disturbance. Within a few days this tension had subsided almost as quickly

as it had arisen—but not until at least 12 persons had been injured to the extent of requiring hospitalization or first aid. Since the police had not been informed in advance, they were obviously caught off guard and unprepared when the violence broke out. However, it is the general opinion that the prompt action of the police, despite their lack of preparation, with the support of community leaders, prevented a dangerous disturbance from becoming a full-fledged riot. The pools were closed to allow for a "cooling off" period. A year later, as a result of an NAACP-sponsored suit, Federal District Court Judge Hulen ordered the pool discrimination ended. Nearly all of St. Louis deplored the incident and believed that highlighting the disturbance in the press and labeling it as a "race riot" was an injustice to the city.

Looking beyond the incident as possibly symptomatic of larger and graver ills, the St. Louis Council on Human Relations secured the services of George Schermer, director of Detroit's Mayor's Interracial Committee, to investigate the swimming pool situation and make recommendations. The conclusions drawn coincided to a considerable extent with those of two previous local attitude studies, one published by the Social Planning Council, and an unpublished study by the Urban League. These studies revealed strong dissatisfaction among Negroes regarding their economic and living conditions. Housing, jobs and the cost of living troubled them most; segregation and discrimination, lack of educational and recreational facilities followed. The report concluded: "A large part of the white community holds relatively little malice toward the Negroes so long as old patterns are unchallenged. Among Negroes there is a strong undercurrent of resentment, not so much toward whites, as toward the restrictions which limit opportunity and freedom."

In his analysis of the swimming pool disturbance, George Schermer concluded that "the majority of St. Louis citizens are decent, law-abiding citizens who want to see justice and fair treatment prevail. At the same time, in the field of race relations, they have no real knowledge of the problem. On one hand, the majority group holds blindly and stubbornly to the status quo. Without realizing that most of the problems of change are produced by basic economic and social forces, they blame the trouble upon those in the minority. It is interesting to note the hungry desire of so many people, high and low, who wish to explain the Fairgrounds

Park disturbance as the product of a malicious conspiracy. That is an easy, face-saving device. It is a kind of scapegoatism. Actually, the responsibility for the incident and the dilemma which St. Louis now faces lies at the doors of many, many public officials and civic, religious, business and labor leaders. *Not because of what they did, but because of what they failed to do.*"

This might well have been the challenge that led the St. Louis community to take a keener look at itself and to accelerate its pace of change.

CHAPTER II

THE TREND TOWARD DESEGREGATION

St. Louis began to change in many small and some big ways before the May 17, 1954 Supreme Court decision for desegregation of the public schools. The impetus for change came from many sources, both without and within the community. The new international role of the United States, the changing status of the Negro and his increasing participation in the life of the nation had served to focus attention on the gap between the democratic "creed" and the democratic "deed." The changing spatial, economic and educational position of the Negro population had begun to disrupt local patterns. With the Negro's increasing educational and occupational gains leading to a higher standard of living, came the inevitable frustration and resentment growing out of a restrictive environment.

Although Negroes represent 20 per cent of the St. Louis population, they occupy less than 10 per cent of the St. Louis living area. The expanding housing needs of the growing Negro population have been met primarily by extending the segregated area —usually on a block-by-block basis. There are, however, a limited number of Negroes moving out of the well-defined Negro neighborhoods into the wider community. A Federal District Court ruling in January, 1956, forbidding racial segregation in the city's low-rent public housing units, should contribute toward the elimination of ghetto housing for the groups served by these units.

In the area of public accommodations, although the Board of Aldermen failed to pass in 1955 a bill endorsed by the St. Louis Council on Human Relations (the official agency existing under ordinance, commonly referred to as the "Mayor's Council"), making it unlawful for hotels, restaurants and theatres to restrict patronage according to race, creed or color, some downtown restaurants and movies, prompted by the Congress of Racial Equality and other organizations, have already begun opening up cautiously.

Downtown hotels are beginning to open their doors to Negroes partially as a result of decisions by several national organizations not to hold their meetings in St. Louis unless racial restrictions were eliminated. While visiting Negroes are provided hotel accommodations, local Negroes still are not encouraged to patronize these establishments in large numbers. Although some drug stores and the five-and-ten-cent stores serve Negroes, the department stores with one exception still maintain segregated eating facilities. The one store without segregated facilities permits Negroes to eat in its non-segregated basement cafeteria, but not in its more select upstairs eating places. Outdoor swimming pools, parks, and other municipal recreational facilities are now being shared impartially by all persons.

In 1955, a questionnaire which attempted to discover how much each racial group knew about the community's racial problems and practices was distributed to 150 St. Louis citizens representing an occupational cross-section of the population. It was discovered that there was very little distortion in the returns as to the approximate proportion which Negroes formed of the city's total population or as to the relative size of the Negro crime rate in St. Louis. Respondents of both racial groups agreed that it was still a controversial matter in St. Louis for Negroes to stay in white hotels, belong to predominantly white Protestant churches, be served in white restaurants or to sit among whites in downtown movie houses. While there was general consensus regarding the relative position of the Negro in St. Louis, there was also widespread recognition of changes taking place. The resultant effect of these changes in the nation at large was noted by Gunnar Myrdal, who, after a study of the problems of the Negro in America, concluded that, "a push upward on any one of the number of factors—political power, civil rights, employment opportunities, housing, nutrition, and health—would move all other factors in the same direction and have, through them, a cumulative effect upon general Negro status. It follows that there is no cause either for despair, or for delaying action until a single panacea which will solve the whole problem has been found. Instead, any sensible action for the improvement of conditions based on the actual facts in a given community or area can be expected to contribute toward making the problem as a whole a little less insoluble. We can, therefore, move forward on any and all fronts toward the correction of discriminations and the extension of equal opportunities with the confidence

that what is accomplished, though it may seem hardly measurable in terms of the problem as a whole, will be transferred by the process of cumulation through the whole system."

In a given society, social structures are interrelated, and changes in one have reactions upon others. It is important to remember that changes are not always harmonious; as a matter of fact, some changes stand in direct opposition to one another. In a dynamic society, change is inevitable; just what direction these changes take are dependent upon and influenced by many factors.

As pointed out earlier, the St. Louis community had been undergoing change for many years; some changes had been forced through legal action, others had come about voluntarily. Some of the changes had been hardly perceptible, others had been more noticeable. St. Louis had its share of citizens who for many, many years had worked quietly and diligently "whittling away" the barriers to communication and full participation of all its citizens. While it is within the last decade that St. Louis has made its most perceptible and rapid advance toward a more democratic society, this was made possible by the many unsung heroes—religious leaders of all faiths and other community leaders—who, as one informant puts it, "softened the ground out of which constructive efforts began to flower and come into full fruition."

Beginning in the early forties and working within the framework of legal segregation, there came into being a conscious, organized effort on the part of many groups to change the social situation in their community in the direction of more democratic values. Individuals, agencies and groups began to work toward the elimination of ethnic, religious and racial minority-group status from their community. There was increasing concern that there must be more consistency between stated democratic principles and actual behavior. Cooperative ventures in better community understanding became widespread. Their goal: the integration of minority peoples and the lessening of prejudice and discrimination. Their method: education, both formal and informal, positive and aggressive—not the kind of education which says "time will heal all things" including prejudice; not the kind of education which results in doing nothing. The successful working together on a common problem by varied religious, educational, civic and social organizations inspired further effort to mobilize these constructive forces of the

community in such a way that they achieved a division of labor, greater effectiveness and mutual respect among themselves.

Community Agencies Take Stock

In 1946, 35 community organizations joined the Board of the YWCA in a five-day Community Race Relations Institute in an attempt to discover techniques of furthering better race relations in St. Louis. Following this Institute, community agencies and boards began to look critically at their own organizations. The local Social Planning Council, at the suggestion of the Urban League, appointed a standing committee to study and make recommendations in regard to problems of desegregation in its member agencies. The Council also issued a "Statement of Goals for Nondiscrimination in Member Agencies." Community agencies began to desegregate gradually, first integrating Negroes at the board level, next the staff, and finally the clientele. Voluntary associations likewise began increasing the removal of barriers to full membership and participation by all groups. The Mayor's Council on Human Relations, formed in 1949, sponsored a yearly celebration of Universal Declaration of Human Rights Day. In each celebration a part of the Institute was devoted to human rights in the school.

Facts about human relations were systematically assembled. In 1949 the Missouri Association for Social Welfare, at the request of the Association's Committee on Human Rights, assumed the responsibility for studying the nature and extent of discriminatory practices in Missouri. In the first of its three reports (April, 1949), the Committee concluded that "probably the worst field of discrimination in the state is in public education." In its second report (October, 1949), in which the two state universities—Lincoln University for Negroes, and the University of Missouri for whites—were compared, the report concluded that the educational opportunities available at the Negro university fell "far short of the 'separate-but-equal' philosophy."

Beginning in 1950, as a result of a judicial ruling, Negro residents of Missouri were admitted to the University of Missouri if —and only if—the courses of study they desired were not offered at Lincoln. In the Committee's third report (November, 1953), the cost of segregation in the public schools of the state was con-

sidered. The results of this study clearly established that Negro and white schools in Missouri were not equal, that to provide approximately equal but separate schools would be very expensive, and that to integrate the schools by abolishing segregation would bring about a considerable saving. "But," the report hastened to add, "monetary considerations, important as they may be, are not primary . . . Segregation is based on an unsound principle—the assumed innate inferiority of a whole race—and for that reason is incompatible with the American ideal, democracy. The only answer to the problem of racial inequality in public education is integration."

Religious Groups Promote Good Human Relations

Beginning in the early forties, but accelerating in pace following World War II, church leaders of all faiths actively began to promote good human relations both by precept and practice; more and more, they were beginning "to pull the subject of human relations out of phraseological niceties into some practical efforts." Advocating full equality, a distinguished religious leader took the initiative in organizing the Citizens' Committee on Human Rights. Temple Israel opened its pulpit to Negro ministers. The Ethical Society extended its membership to include Negroes. The Metropolitan Church Federation, with its 600 member churches, in accordance with the unanimous vote of its Executive Board, asked the churches of metropolitan St. Louis "to cease the practice of segregation in their local and church institutions . . . to open their doors to fellowship, membership and service regardless of race or color." In an endeavor to focus the attention of local churches upon their responsibility in connection with the problem of human relations, the Interracial Commission of the Metropolitan Church Federation sponsored four institutes, using as the theme, "The Church Faces the Race Question."

While there is recognition that much remains to be done, Protestant churches are moving slowly toward a more inclusive membership; one white church had a Negro assistant pastor for a year (1951-52). A Methodist church in a changing neighborhood has Negro children in its Sunday school and "wonders why Negro adults do not join the church." Since 1947, all Catholic churches have served communicants of all races and it was the Catholics

who initiated the desegregation process in St. Louis' elementary and secondary schools.

Catholic Schools Set an Example

A little over 24 per cent of the St. Louis population is Catholic. In 1947, "simply as a step in a well-planned progression toward the realization in daily life of the ideal of the Brotherhood of Man," Archbishop Joseph E. Ritter ordered the immediate abolition of segregation in all Catholic parochial elementary and secondary schools. Although a few key schools had already accepted Negro students quietly and without fanfare, and a year earlier in 1946, St. Louis University, a Jesuit institution, had opened its doors to Negro students with no unfavorable repercussions, the order to open all elementary and secondary schools was met with open opposition. Some 700 Catholic parents formed as a group to protest; they threatened legal action. The Archbishop firmly reminded them that under Canon Law they would be "excommunicated if they presumed to interfere in the administrative office of their Bishop by having recourse to any authority outside the Church." Not heeding this admonition, the group next tried to go over the Archbishop's head by appealing to the Apostolic Delegate from the Vatican to Washington. The Apostolic Delegate answered that the Archbishop was the final authority and no Catholic should disobey him.

At the next meeting of the protest group, the Apostolic Delegate said that he would entertain only one motion—that for the dissolution of the group. While a minority wanted to go on with the protest, seeking a civil ban against the edict, the group was dissolved. A few of these withdrew their children from the parochial schools and presumably sent them to the segregated public schools. However, after an initial period of adjustment, with the Catholic Interracial Council taking the lead in the shaping of community attitudes, school desegregation was taken in stride. Seven years later in 1954, when the U. S. Supreme Court ordered the elimination of segregation in all public schools, St. Louis did not have to ask, "Will it work?" The Catholics had shown that *given strong, convinced, and unequivocal leadership, integration can, and did work.*

Key Labor Unions Take Up the Cause

Labor unions of the now merged CIO and AFL, while attacking segregation and discrimination within their own organizations, were also supporting and advocating desegregation of other institutions. Noting the trend of the decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court, "assuming that segregation would be ended within a few years," and pointing to the successful desegregation of the Catholic schools, in 1951 the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Local 688 (formerly AFL), and its Committee on Democratic Rights of Members urged that the community "begin to prepare for the inevitable change so that desegregation of the public schools might be accomplished with a minimum of disturbance and tension." Convinced that "a segregated school system contributes nothing to the democratic promise of America," the union offered for consideration eight specific recommendations which, in the main, called for workshops in intergroup education, a wider participation across racial lines among both teachers and students, and the re-opening of the aero-mechanics course at the white Hadley Technical High School, which had been removed from the curriculum when the State Circuit Court ruled that the course must be offered to qualified Negroes if it is offered to qualified white students. For the most part, what the union sought was a concentration and extension of programs already underway with the official encouragement of the Board of Education. Two of the Union's proposals were turned down by the Board of Education as not suitable, but educators, in cooperation with representatives of the Union, appeared on radio programs and discussed the recommendations. This provided the useful function of bringing the subject of public school desegregation to a "community-conscious-discussion" level.

The Press Combines Freedom with Responsibility

Supporting all such positive efforts was the press. Editorially, the daily newspapers, with *The St. Louis Post Dispatch* leading the way and *The St. Louis Globe Democrat,* the *Star Times,* and the Negro weekly, *The Argus,* following, supported desegregation. Opposition groups and their activities were reported with restraint. While there was no attempt to withhold news, the activities of these groups were never glamorized; they were simply reported as routine news items.

School Officials Work Towards a Plan

St. Louis officials will tell you that before the Supreme Court decision they "did not consciously prepare for desegregation." Said its Superintendent of Instruction, "promotion of wholesome human relations has always been a primary concern of good teachers everywhere and various methods of accomplishing this objective have been used with educative results throughout the history of the St. Louis public schools. Teaching children the worth and dignity of the individual, from the point of view of good American citizenship, was essential whether segregation continued or not."

At the professional level, the St. Louis school system had a long history of cooperation across racial lines. Dating back as early as the thirties, integrated committees of teachers and principals had selected textbooks and written courses of study to be used in the public schools. Although some professional educational organizations had operated on an integrated basis even at their inception, beginning in the forties there was increasing integration of public school teachers and principals in the performance of their professional duties and the operation of their professional organizations.

While working within the legal framework of segregation, Board members as well as school officials were not unaware of the changes impinging upon the community, and had begun to consider what procedure would be followed in the event segregation was outlawed by the Supreme Court. In the summer of 1953, members of the St. Louis Board of Education, school officials and community leaders participated in a number of meetings with the superintendent of an out-of-state school system which had recently been desegregated. The superintendent's office had made a number of studies of the best uses which could be made of its physical facilities in the event of desegregation. Several years previous to the decision, whenever a new building was erected, one of the first questions asked was: "How may we locate this building in such a way that it would be properly located whether segregation continues or desegregation comes?" Furthermore, whenever there was an intergroup controversy over possession of a school in a "fringe" neighborhood, school officials asked the question: "How may this controversy be resolved in such a way that there will be the least possible residue of antagonism to impede the process of desegregation?" Thus, when the decision came, the broad outlines

of a plan for desegregation were already in the minds of members of the Board and school officials.

"Project" Schools Give Teachers Training in Human Relations

One of the prime factors in making the community "human relations-conscious" was the experimental program of the Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools project sponsored by the American Council on Education and financed by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Beginning in 1945, under the leadership of Dr. Hilda Taba and her staff, this experimental study grew into a systematic program of far-reaching proportions. It might well be considered the beginning of the coordinated effort which formed both a pattern and background within which the successful implementation of the May 17 Supreme Court decision was made possible.

The program sought to assist teachers in developing skills that would prove useful in helping students, as well as themselves, to overcome the artificial barriers of race. In-service training classes, institutes and workshops were held to acquaint teachers with the materials available and the techniques to be used in promoting good human relations. Attendance was voluntary. Beginning at first with a small number of teachers, the program was extended through special leadership training sessions devoted to train leaders for the training of other teachers. Teachers' colleges offered in-service training classes, "Education for Bettering Human Relations," in which the emphasis was placed on changing teacher attitudes. Through scholarships awarded by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, St. Louis teachers attended summer workshops in intergroup education, and a full-time consultant devoted a major part of his time to help teachers learn ways of guiding pupils in the art of cooperative living. An Intergroup Education Association of teachers and principals was organized for the purpose of improving the teaching of human relations in schools. This Association pooled its resources with other groups to plan programs and to provide speakers and audio-visual aids to any group wishing to undertake a program aimed at desegregation. Many neighborhood associations availed themselves of this opportunity.

At the request of the Catholic Secondary Schools, the Intergroup Education Association cooperated in staging a program based on intergroup education for the Catholic Schools' convention.

Students Begin to Look Across Racial Barriers

In the segregated St. Louis school system, patterns of interracial meetings had been almost non-existent on a student level. The beginning was made, therefore, cautiously at first, through the exchange of musical organizations at assembly programs, and later through panel discussions and class-to-class visits. Further opportunity for wider student participation was provided through an all-city public high school symphony orchestra, and a Centennial pageant featuring over 5,000 pupils from all schools. Meeting once a month, a city-wide student council, now in its ninth year, provided an opportunity for discussion of problems of common concern to adolescents. Starting at first with somewhat less involved discussions such as senior class rings and lunchroom behavior, the Student Council extended its concern to more serious problems. Among other things, the Council took the lead in starting interracial athletics in St. Louis. It sponsored a program looking toward better sportsmanship in all high schools, and initiated a request for improvement of the public school stadium and the elimination of certain hazards.

"Intergroup Youth": Microcosm of a Democratic Society

Seeing the need of extending the intergroup education program into a wider area, in 1946 the regional director of the local National Conference of Christians and Jews conceived the idea of Intergroup Youth. Because of the tremendous influence which Intergroup Youth has had, and continues to have in the building of wholesome attitudes, and because it might well be considered worthy of adoption in other communities, it will be discussed in some detail.

The chief purpose of Intergroup Youth is to help make democracy a reality in the lives of participating members—who will in turn affect the community life of the city. It is composed of repre-

sentative youth of the St. Louis area high schools who come together to share ideas and seek ways and methods of creating harmony and understanding among the other youth of the community. Intergroup Youth is not an action group as such. Rather it is a means of bringing together representatives of the young community—under the guidance of worthy adult advisors—for study, research, discussion, inspiration and stimulation. Action comes through the natural groupings of youth in schools, churches and other community youth organizations. Intergroup Youth's program centers around the interests of adolescents—arts and crafts, work projects, club activities, music and discussion. The range of activities offers opportunities for the varying degrees of readiness of any particular individual or sub-group. One group may be planning a panel program, another rehearsing a choric reading, still others may be embarked upon community programs such as decorating an interracial community center, restoring toys for needy children, or, as in one year, assisting the city in its rodent-control project.

The initiation of such a movement required both careful planning and guidance. To have far-reaching as well as long-term results, it was necessary to command a high degree of community support through the involvement of civic and youth leaders, as well as school teachers and administrators. The initial step was to secure the cooperation of high school principals and the confidence of the Assistant Superintendent of Instruction in charge of high schools in St. Louis. The idea was presented with carefully thought-out objectives. Following this, pains were taken to build up a fairly permanent relationship with the school system. Conferences were held with leaders and workers in community organizations: YMCA, YWCA, YMHA, Girl Scouts, the Urban League, Red Cross, Jewish Community Relations Council and other similar groups and people interested in youth. Settlement house workers provided insight and information; parents of student leaders opened their homes for small group meetings.

Working in close cooperation with school administrators and the coordinator of the intergroup education project, the first planning session, composed of representatives of 30 area high schools—private, public and parochial, Negro and white—and interested adults, was called to weigh possibilities for improving intergroup relations within the larger community. The committee proposed

an area-wide high school conference which would afford youth an opportunity to meet on common ground and exchange ideas.

Following this suggestion, the first area-wide conference was held during Brotherhood Week on February 19, 1947. Using the general theme of *Brotherhood,* both students and adults participated freely in the all-day session.

What were the reactions? One girl from a north side white school said: "I have been a Catholic all my life, but I never felt truly religious until I attended church in a mixed parish where I worshipped with colored and white Catholics. Then I felt for the first time we were practicing brotherhood." A boy from a centrally located Negro high school, commenting on a white girl's hesitant confession of race prejudice, which she expressed a desire to overcome, stated that making such a confession in a mixed group required courage and that he understood and appreciated her willingness to change. The tone of the entire conference was echoed by two students, one a white high school senior who concluded: "We've all mixed here today and we have spoken together. Not one harsh thing was said. Everyone made at least one friend." And another commented: "When I left here, I felt as though I was going into another world—and not so good a world. And I thought, how can this atmosphere of understanding go along with me?"

This conference, which has been held annually during Brotherhood Week, has grown in membership since its beginning in 1947 from 500 students to approximately 1,600 students.

The Steering Committee

The conference assembly, recognizing the need for a smaller body to work out plans for the continuance of intergroup activity, suggested a Steering Committee. Since its establishment it has functioned continuously; it meets regularly during the school year. Adults and students from a variety of backgrounds participate. Parents also participate. For many parents, this was their first opportunity to participate in mixed groups. New attitudes and deeper understandings began to develop. Activities of Intergroup Youth were now being carried into the homes, then the churches, boys' and girls' clubs and various school groups. The Committee had begun to channel its activities and beliefs into the main arteries of community life.

Human Relations Clubs

In order to establish maximum contact with the largest number of pupils, Intergroup Youth organized Human Relations Clubs, set up in various schools to promote understanding at both the intra-school and inter-school level. Upperclassmen seemed to take it upon themselves to let incoming younger students know that human relations activities and attitudes were important. Overheard in one school was a sophomore boy's comment to a junior boy, "I don't know whether or not I go for all this human relations stuff around here." The junior replied, "Well, you'd better get on the ball—it's the thing *here!*"

Parents admit that their attitudes have been modified by the opportunity to work with students on human relations problems in a democratic atmosphere. Members of the Human Relations Clubs say that they have attained a broader perspective and a more profound concept of community living and humanity. *The programs and activities have deepened their awareness of the necessity for understanding and appreciating individual differences; at the same time they have discovered for themselves the fundamental likenesses of all human beings.* They have learned at first hand that their problems are shared by members of other groups, thus enabling them to identify with others and to develop poise and ease in their social contact. They have developed a sense of "belonging," a feeling of being a part of a larger humanity.

Back of such clubs stand keenly interested and sensitive teachers; behind the teachers are understanding administrators who realize the importance of this kind of program and allow it to flourish. And acting as a backdrop for all this is a wide range of community organizations and resources, cooperating with materials, programs, time and interest.*

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*The material on Intergroup Youth was provided by Virgil Border, Margaret Dagen and Reba Mosby.

CHAPTER III

DESEGREGATION OF SCHOOLS FOLLOWING MAY 17 SUPREME COURT DECISION

The May 17, 1954 Supreme Court decision declaring racial segregation in public education unconstitutional was consistent with, rather than contrary to, the pattern of thought and action which had characterized St. Louis for a decade. Immediately following the decision, Mayor Raymond R. Tucker said, "The people of our community should accept calmly and intelligently the ruling of the Supreme Court which holds that there must be no discrimination in the public schools of our nation." On June 30, Attorney General John M. Dalton ruled that provisions of the Missouri Constitution and laws which required the maintenance of separate schools for Negro and white children "are superseded by the decision of the United States Supreme Court and are, therefore, unenforceable."

The Board of Education Provides a Master Plan

On June 17, one month after the date of the decision and 13 days before the Attorney General's ruling, the St. Louis Board of Education acted. A letter was written each member of the Board calling a special meeting to be held on June 22 "for the purpose of considering and acting upon the question of desegregation of the schools . . ." At this meeting, the Board, as elected representatives of the St. Louis community, officially and unanimously adopted a program for desegregation under its control.

The plan provided for desegregation of the entire public school system to take place in three steps; it was to be begun in September, 1954, and completed by September, 1955.

Step One:

Beginning in September, 1954, desegregation of the white and Negro teachers' colleges and special schools for the handicapped operated by the public school system.

Step Two:

Beginning February 1, 1955, desegregation of the adult education program and all high schools except the technical high schools; new high school district boundaries were to be made public by November 15, 1954.

Step Three:

Beginning September, 1955, desegregation of the technical high schools and the regular elementary schools; new districts for the elementary schools were to be made public by February 1, 1955.

The Board announced that, in the main, students would be required to attend the school in the district where they lived with the following two exceptions: first, proper school authorities might transfer students from one district to another to relieve overcrowding, and second, students already enrolled in a school but not resident in its new district might, but were not required to, continue at that school until they were graduated, provided the school was not overcrowded. The plan further stipulated that the tenure rights of teachers would be preserved and as far as possible they would retain their present assignments, being transferred only to meet the needs of the service. New appointments would be made from a single rated list on the basis of examination scores. Vacancies among lunchroom or matron and custodial staff would be filled on the basis of competence and adaptability, and employees in these and other non-certified classes would be appointed from lists compiled from examination scores, without regard to race or color.

The plan thus made provisions for what constituted, in the judgment of the Board, three essential elements of any satisfactory plan for desegregation of a public school system: (1) complete and orderly desegregation of the schools, (2) minimum disruption of the educational programs of students, and (3) fair and equitable protection of the interest of employees and candidates for employment without regard to race. It also provided that "with respect to any part of the educational program not referred to specifically in the adopted plan, the Superintendent of Instruction is hereby

fully authorized to proceed in such manner and according to such schedules as shall be deemed by him judicious for the proper and orderly accomplishment of our basic objectives."

The Board gave as its reason for making the transition step-by-step the considerable detail work needed to be done in regard to such matters as the drawing of new school district boundaries, assignment of pupils, teachers and other personnel, transfer of books and materials, and transmission of information to parents. Through such a procedure, a large portion of administrative attention could then be concentrated on the particular group of schools being desegregated, thus insuring a more thorough supervisory job.

It is noteworthy in this connection that the indefinite word "gradual" at no place appeared in the plan. Instead, the word "step" was used—*with a definite date for each step appended.* Also, each "step" when undertaken was a complete operation—students, teachers and other personnel were integrated at the same time.

The plan was quietly received by the majority of the citizens; the local press endorsed it—with one daily even urging its prompt and if feasible accelerated implementation. The only organized opposition came from a small "hate" group, The National Citizens Protective Association. This was of a brief duration and no consequence.

Implementing the Plan

The Role of Community Agencies

Shortly after the plan was adopted, the president of the Board of Education invited representatives of all organizations which had offered their cooperation to a meeting at which the plan was thoroughly explained and discussed. At this meeting the suggestion was made that each organization so desiring should do what it found practicable to promote the plan for desegregation among the groups with whom it worked. The job of securing community understanding, acceptance and support of the program was largely taken over by these agencies. They worked in a number of ways. The League of Women Voters prepared and published a booklet, *St. Louis Integrates Its Schools,* explaining the plan and giving

information on the progress of desegregation in St. Louis and St. Louis County. The Metropolitan Church Federation charged its pastors and membership to take an open stand for desegregation and to devote a portion of their Sunday services to pray for the success of public school desegregation. In this endeavor the Federation was joined by the Catholic and Jewish spiritual leaders. They urged their members "to cooperate fully with the Board of Education in its program of desegregation." The National Conference of Christians and Jews stepped up its intergroup program. The Urban League, the City-Wide Parent and Patrons Organizations and Alliances pledged their unqualified support and worked closely with the parents. The Mayor's Commission on Human Relations, utilizing a number of experts, conducted a workshop on integration. With community leaders, agencies and opinion-forming organizations working in the community, school officials were left free to work with pupils, teachers and parents.

The Teacher's Role

At the outset, the Board of Education and the administrative staff of the school system made it clear that *desegregation was a fixed policy to be followed firmly according to the schedule laid down.* The approach to desegregation was a realistic one. The spirit with which it was to be approached was set forth in the Superintendent's meeting with his teachers. He told them:

> There are two attitudes on integration, both of which are wrong, that some of our citizens have embraced: First, that we can avoid or circumvent the clear directive given to us by our highest judicial body, and secondly, that integration will not present any difficulties whatsoever. These attitudes cannot fail to cause great harm. We must be willing to accept the problem of integration and face it realistically, without bigotry or prejudice, but well aware of our individual responsibilities in assuming the proper attitudes. . . .
>
> This problem is different from any which we have faced in that *failure cannot be thought possible.* Integration is a fact. The time has come when we must submerge all of our personal feelings if we are to maintain our high standards of conduct and achievement.
>
> That integration be made to work smoothly and fairly is more than an obligation; it is a directive from your employer, the

Board of Education. We also believe that it is an implied directive from your indirect employers, the people of the city of St. Louis . . .

We know that you, the classroom teachers, represent the important part of the educative process. You will determine the degree of success which we obtain by your attitudes and efforts. If you assume an apprehensive defeatist attitude in your home or among your closest friends, that attitude will reflect itself, perhaps unconsciously, in your classroom teaching. The attitude of you, the teacher in the classrooms, will determine the general trend of conduct of the entire school system. We should not minimize the problem of integration or build it into a monster.

The Parent's Role

Many parents offered their services, but along with those who welcomed desegregation there were those who were opposed, and those who were resigned: "It had to come." "There's nothing you can do about it." "It's the law now." How parents felt about racially mixed schools was reflected in the kind of advice they gave their children.

White and Negro high school students were asked, "Did your parents discuss integration and how you should act in an integrated school? If yes, what did they say?" Approximately 75 per cent of the students indicated their parents had discussed integration with them. The replies revealed that Negro parents tended to stress "hard work and study" while white parents, for the most part, emphasized proper attitude and behavior. A random sample of the most frequently occurring instructions follows:

WHAT WHITE PARENTS TOLD THEIR CHILDREN:

"Be careful; watch your step."

"If I was to get angry not to call any race names."

"That they themselves do not believe in integration and highly object but if I had to go to an integrated school, I should make the best of it."

"That the Negroes didn't want to change schools any more than I; that they had to, so I must be nice to them."

"I should be friendly without getting too thick."

"Just act like they are not there."

"My mother said that I should not act better than they are *because I am not*. Treat them as you would want to be treated."

"I'm ashamed; I can't tell you."

"In my family there has never been any question of whether or not segregation was wrong; we all agreed it was. So, integration did not cause much discussion; it was just the right thing to do."

"If you treat Negroes as if they are on an equal basis with whites, they will give you no trouble. They want to be accepted."

"It's new for all of us, but it will work if we all cooperate. Be kind to everyone."

"Don't act snobbish and don't act as if I was better than other people."

"Have nothing at all to do with the Negro kids."

"God made all of us and never meant for there to be any racial discrimination; that I should treat the Negro students as equals because they are."

"Be nice about it. Stay with your own group of friends and if trouble seems to start leave immediately and come home."

WHAT NEGRO PARENTS TOLD THEIR CHILDREN:

"Be open-minded, talk up, study hard, and don't force yourself on anyone who does not enjoy your company."

"They said it was the Greatest Law ever passed by man. They didn't tell me how to act, they knew I already knew. They just said, 'Be normal.'"

"Don't look for trouble. Don't think of yourself as inferior or superior to anyone. Conduct yourself in just the same way as you did before attending an integrated school."

"Remain just as orderly as I was before going to the white schools. However, knowing the situation, in order to get ahead I had to be twice as good as the next fellow. To study."

"My grandmother said for me to do my best work, to be a good listener and not to expect to sit around all day doing nothing and get a grade for it."

"If you expect to be a success, you must be courteous, study hard, and don't go around with a chip on your shoulder."

"Try to make friends, not enemies. Study hard."

"You can't get too far without education. This is your chance to make good. Take advantage of every opportunity. Be courteous and kind to everyone—students and teachers. Study."

"Just be normal. If the white kids try to be superior to the Negro kid, just look over them and ignore them. After all, they are not responsible for what they've been taught. We can prove by our actions that we are not inferior."

"Don't try to act superior. Only inferior people try to act like there are people beneath them. Prove your worth; people will accept you, that is, the decent ones will."

"Study as I have never studied before. Be kind."

"If you think of yourself as an equal, you will act as an equal, and you will then be treated as an equal. I was never taught prejudice."

"God made us all; He loves us all. We must love one another and never hate anyone no matter what he says or does. Learn all I can."

"Try it. If I didn't like the integrated school I could always go back to Sumner."

"This is the day my parents have been praying for; that I may have the same opportunity as all other children. They told me, 'Take every advantage of the opportunity; make every minute count.'"

The School's Role

Apart from the intergroup relations programs previously mentioned, no large-scale preparatory program was carried on throughout the St. Louis school system as a whole. Principals and administrations, with the help of teachers and students, prepared for desegregation as they thought best for their particular community. In some areas there was intensive and extensive preparation, in others there was little or no preparation.

At Harris Teachers College, the faculty conducted a two-day in-service training program before the start of the school term. Student leaders from both the Negro Stowe Teachers College and the white Harris Teachers College met and worked out plans on how best to meet the challenge of desegregation. Since there had been exchanges between Stowe and Harris students for some time, no difficulty was anticipated. It was simply a matter of seeing

how the organizational structure of each school could be worked out to the best advantage and satisfaction of each group.

In one high school district, where the greatest change was anticipated, there was considerable preparation. "The first step," said the principal of this school, was to make it clear to teachers and staff that *"desegregation was not a matter for discussion, but a problem to be solved."* In like manner, the Student Council was approached and they in turn worked with the general student body. Assemblies where students could express themselves were held. At one assembly, students heard a panel of Negro and white students from an East St. Louis (Illinois) high school give an account of integration at their school which had been desegregated successfully two years earlier. The school community was sensitized through the Union Boulevard Association, an organization composed of Negro and white community leaders in the area—ministers, priests, rabbis, social workers, parents and educators. Among other things, this Association planned meetings where the Superintendent of Instruction and other qualified persons discussed the problems and challenges of desegregation. The members of the Association then acted as resource persons for others in their particular spheres of influence, thus creating an ever-widening circle of informed persons.

Perhaps the most intensive and extensive preparation among students was carried out at Vashon, a formerly Negro high school. Beginning with an all-school assembly, student leaders discussed the historical background of the Supreme Court decision and gave their personal reactions to it. Several weeks later, each home room held a workshop session in which the pupils discussed the problem and exchanged points of view. At the end of the workshop session, each home room drew up a report reflecting the group's discussions with appended suggestions on how individuals could best meet problems that might arise in a desegregated school. Finally, three weeks before the end of the semester, another all-school assembly was held at which a bi-racial panel of ministers, civic leaders and school principals discussed the problem and answered questions raised by students. *The St. Louis Post Dispatch,* in their editorial of January 12, 1955, "A Matter of Good Will," commented on the Vashon program: "Simple good will was the spirit which animated Vashon High School's intergroup assembly on Tuesday (January 11), the third in a series of well-planned events intended to pre-

pare young people for the end of segregation in the high schools next month. If all the city's high schools are doing as well as Vashon in calm, intelligent, realistic preparation for an important change in community life, St. Louis has nothing to worry about."

Whatever the method used, throughout the system student reaction to the change was a positive one. Said Superintendent of Instruction Hickey after one of the student assemblies, "It was a heart-warming thing to hear the student leaders describe the responsibilities and obligations of student bodies in a democracy. If this is a fair example of the kind of positive thinking and acting being done by our frequently maligned teen-agers—and I think it is—then I believe we can abandon any fears for the future of our nation when it comes into their keeping."

The Wheels Start Turning

Redistricting

Perhaps one of the most important elements in the St. Louis plan was redistricting. In setting up the new districts, Board of Education officials and principals, both Negro and white, participated. Redistricting began with a block-by-block survey, for which the principal of each school was responsible. The principal reported how many children of elementary and high school age lived in each block. The race of the children was not noted. These data were transferred to IBM cards. In drawing new district lines, capacity of school building, travel distance and traffic hazards were the chief consideration. There was no attempt at gerrymandering. After new district lines had been drawn, they were publicized well in advance of the actual date of desegregation. Thus, both parents and students had time to become familiar with them. In order to avoid any possible confusion, the principals of each elementary school officially notified the parent of each child of the discontinuance of segregation and of the child's school assignment effective in September, 1955.

Both Negro and white citizens felt the boundaries had been fairly drawn. The lone complaint came from a group of white parents who were not protesting desegregation but rather a district line near a hazardous area which they felt would pose a transportation problem for their children. It is interesting to note that the adjustment of the line meant that these children would fall

in a somewhat more heavily populated Negro section. It seems that the first and primary concern of these parents, as with all parents, was the physical safety of their children.

Decentralization

Perhaps one of the most important policy decisions made regarding implementation of the St. Louis plan was the decentralizing of authority. Under the desegregation program, *authority was relegated to the individual school districts and each school principal was given the authority and held responsible for the successful implementation of desegregation in his school.*

Thus each principal, in cooperation with his faculty, parents, students and community groups, was held responsible for actually working out his particular desegregation procedure. "The keynote of planning," said Superintendent Hickey, "was to limit the dimensions of each problem so far as possible." Each principal was encouraged to deal concretely and specifically with the changeover as it affected his own school, but to leave any possible difficulties in other areas to the principals directly concerned. By so doing, the Superintendent hoped to "reduce desegregation from a big, city-wide spectacular, with emotional overtones, to the rather commonplace local matter of just getting children in school." People living outside a particular district were not permitted to complain at the central office about what was happening in another district. The first question asked any parent who wanted to make a complaint was: "Do you live in that district?" If the answer was no, he was told: "You can't make a complaint here."

Desegregation in Action

In September, 1954, with the first school opening following the Supreme Court decision, St. Louis put into effect its step-by-step plan. The schools began to be desegregated as scheduled, with only one exception. The already over-crowded technical high schools which were to be desegregated in September, 1955, had to await the completion of a new building. During the school year, 1955-56, desegregation at the technical high schools was limited to eighth grade graduates electing vocational subjects. These students were being accommodated in the modernized, formerly white Hadley Technical High School. Upon completion of the new

building, the city will be redistricted and both schools operated on an integrated basis.

Wherever desegregation occurred, from elementary school throughout the teachers colleges, the news was the same. It was a "natural school day." The big news of the day was that "there was no news." Said Superintendent Hickey: "It was the quiet and undramatic culmination of years of educational programming and democratic practice and the outcome of contributions to the building of good will by many diverse community agencies." This undramatic and uneventful change did not go unnoticed by our foreign neighbors. On February 2, 1955, the day following desegregation of the high schools, the *Times of India* reported a democratic act which needed no comment. It simply said:

WHITES AND NEGROES ENROLL TOGETHER
St. Louis Ends Segregation

The Teachers Colleges

At the teachers college level, where there are no district lines and attendance is wholly on a voluntary basis, unification of white Harris Teachers College and Negro Stowe Teachers College, at the Harris buildings, produced an enrollment greater than the combined enrollment of the two separate colleges for the year earlier, and the ratio of Negro and white students, with white students and faculty in the majority, appeared to be about the same. While it is not intended to suggest, in the absence of supportive data, that desegregation caused this increase, the enrollment figures do, however, disprove the usual fears and rumors that desegregation causes a decrease in enrollment and a withdrawal of white students.

The High Schools

The St. Louis high school enrollment at the time of desegregation was 14,093 students of whom 4,275, or 30 per cent, were Negroes. The 9,818 white students were distributed among seven schools with an average enrollment of 1,402. The Negro students attended two schools, located in three buildings, with an average enrollment of 2,137.

Beginning February 1, 1955, the heretofore segregated high schools became nine desegregated schools, each serving a pre-

scribed school district without regard to the racial identity of students living in the district. The results of desegregation were determined, to a large extent, by residential living patterns. Thus, it is not surprising that the two Negro high schools, Vashon and Summer, located in the central Negro residential area, continued to be populated by Negro students, although both schools lost some of their excessive enrollment. And, as was expected, former white schools located in transitional neighborhoods underwent the greatest change. One school located in such an area now has approximately 33 per cent Negro pupils; another has 19 per cent, and a third, 16 per cent. Three high schools have less than 5 per cent Negro students, and one school, located in an all-white residential area, has no Negro students. This distribution will change as populations shift and the program of school desegregation is fully established.

While at the present time, all freshmen entering high school must enroll at the school in their districts, students already in attendance have the option of continuing at their present schools. Approximately one-half of the eligible Negro students exercised this option. A random sample of Negro students who entered formerly white schools supported the findings of a graduate student in the department of sociology and anthropology at Washington University who sought to explore the motives of Negro students who transferred to mixed schools and those who did not. He concluded that the decisive factor determining whether a student changed schools was simply the friendship, emotional ties and other bonds formed in a school—the longer a student had been in a given school the more reluctant he was to transfer. Hence seniors showed more hesitation to transfer than underclassmen. "Students who transferred had fewer attachments to break and at the same time were aware of a strong desire for equality of treatment and opportunity."

One incident occurred at a formerly all-white high school about a month after desegregated classes had started. The trouble began when a white boy, using a water pistol in an attempt to squirt water on another white boy, showered a Negro girl instead. Although the subsequent hard feelings were a direct result of the personalities of the two students involved, rather than their color, the newspapers picked up the story and for a time it looked like a tense race situation might develop. While grievances were being

aired, a few students tried to extend the incident into a major production and chanted, "Let's go home." But school officials, with the assistance of student leaders, quickly put an end to the disturbance. Within a few days, it had apparently been forgotten by all concerned.

Referring to the incident, Superintendent Hickey said, "I feel that I am still at a loss as to how to cope with the problem of mushrooming little everyday skirmishes between kids into racial incidents simply because they occur between white and colored kids. The water-squirting incident would have been overlooked had it occurred between two children of the same race. But it made the papers because one was white and one was colored."

The Elementary Schools

Prior to 1955, St. Louis had 73 white public elementary schools, and 37 Negro elementary schools. With desegregation, more than 50 of the elementary schools now have mixed enrollments—with the greatest amount of mixing, as in the case of the high schools, falling within the transitional areas. No official records give the race of the individual students involved.

Approximately one-half of Missouri's Negro public school pupils are being educated in St. Louis. Public school enrollment at the beginning of the 1955 fall term showed an increase of nearly 3 per cent over the previous year, with Negro pupils accounting for approximately 35 per cent of the total enrollment. Elementary schools registered the greatest enrollment gain, followed by the technical high schools. The general high schools showed a slight drop in enrollment. No significant decline in white enrollment has taken place at any of the schools. Officials know of only one case where a student's parents threatened to withdraw the student because of desegregation.

Teacher and Staff Integration

In accordance with policies laid down by the St. Louis Board of Education, all teachers in the system must pass a national teachers' test as well as state tests. Teachers enter the system on probation and retain that status for three years. If they are retained beyond the third year, they are presumed to be competent and can

be dismissed only for cause. Negro teachers have the same tenure rights as white teachers.

When the schools were desegregated, teaching staffs were integrated along with student bodies. No attempt was made to apportion Negro teachers in accordance with the proportion of Negro students. Assignments were made strictly on the basis of matching teaching skills available with those needed. At desegregated Harris Teachers College, there are now 25 Negro faculty members of a total of 70. All faculty members from the Negro teachers college were integrated into the Harris system with the exception of three who became elementary school supervisors. The President of Stowe Teachers College became Director of Elementary Education supervising probationary teachers, both Negro and white. In each of these cases, these new assignments represented a promotion rather than a demotion. There are both Negro and white administrative officers, as well as department heads. A white dean and a Negro registrar counsel students without regard to race. A Negro coaches basketball, while baseball and track are handled by white coaches.

Three of the nine former white high schools now have mixed faculties, and of the elementary schools, ten have mixed faculties. Up to the present time, Negro teachers have been employed only in those schools where there is a mixed enrollment. Altogether, more than 500 St. Louis teachers are serving on integrated faculties.

No teacher has lost his job as a result of desegregation. As far as could be determined, no white parent has objected to having her child taught by a Negro teacher. One white parent confided that she was surprised when she found out "only by accident" that the teacher her child was "always bragging about" is a Negro. Children seem to accept teachers, irrespective of their color.

Meeting the Opposition

While it is belived a majority of the citizens wished to obey the law and offered their assistance in making the transition worthy of the best traditions of the community, school authorities were mindful—and prepared—for the opposition. The opposition groups —which most often represent a minority opinion—can, and often do exaggerate their real as well as potential strength. Once the

home base of Gerald L. K. Smith, St. Louis is now the headquarters of a disciple of his. Immediately following the Supreme Court decision, a mass meeting was called by the National Citizens Protective Association to protest the end of segregation. As pointed out earlier, newspapers had already taken the position that they would report any legitimate news created by opposition groups, but would not try to *make news* by building them. Thus, the scheduled mass meeting, which was poorly attended, got only as much news space as any other meeting of 100 or so persons—a couple of paragraphs in an inconspicuous place. On the day of high school desegregation when inflammatory literature attacking desegregation was handed out, the newspapers made no news of this.

Standing firmly in the background throughout these events was a bi-racial police department which over the years, through in-service training, had become increasingly cognizant and competent in the area of human relations. As a symbol of impartial authority, their position had been made clear: *anyone who tried to organize a student strike or a parents' demonstration would be arrested on charges of incitement to riot and interference with school operations.* This positive and decisive stand by persons in authority, along with the cooperation of the press and a determined community served to discourage any movement directed at delaying or disturbing the orderly plan for desegregation. This may help to explain why no such opposition movement ever developed into effectiveness.

CHAPTER IV

FEARS, FABLES AND FACTS

St. Louis, like many other communities, faced the standard fears of desegregation. Would the mixing of Negro and white children create health problems for the white child? Wouldn't the "vast cultural differences" between the two racial groups cause a problem of morals? Would not the introduction of Negro children into white schools lower the academic standards? What about "social mixing"? Were teachers whose orientation had been primarily in a segregated school system prepared to teach in an integrated system? Weren't there special skills necessary for the successful teaching of racially mixed classes? Could white parents and students accept Negro teachers?

Approximately 300 elementary and high school teachers and 1,000 high school students in racially mixed schools participated in the answering of a questionnaire designed to throw some light on these questions. Questionnaires were supplemented by personal interviews. The schools included in the sample were those that had the highest mixed enrollments and were located in neighborhoods varied in their social and economic characteristics.

How Would Teachers React to Desegregation?

Throughout the St. Louis system one senses a conscious and determined effort on the part of all teachers to make desegregation work. Teachers admit that the job of adjusting to each other was made considerably easier by the numerous previous opportunities for Negro and white teachers and principals to share ideas and work together before the schools became desegregated. One teacher declared: "Even if the teachers had problems and didn't like each other, each teacher is so determined to make integration work that we don't have time to engage in the luxury of petty arguments among ourselves. You don't have time to see color.

You simply see competent and incompetent teachers, and when you look at them in such a fashion, you don't find any more of one color than another on either side of the scale. I believe every teacher, irrespective of color, is acutely aware of the influence which the teacher exerts on the student. If we reject each other, can we justifiably expect more acceptance on the part of students?"

A few teachers (less than 5 per cent) indicated that desegregation had not changed their basic attitudes. One teacher confessed, "It will take some time to get over some of my Southern background and teaching." However, while there was this admission of disapproval of desegregation, these teachers, as with all others, felt their educational responsibilities and professional standards came first. No teacher felt that such an attitude had in any way interfered with a sense of duty and obligation "to do the best possible teaching job, even though the job at times," commented one teacher, "appears to take on the proportions of a superhuman task."

Teachers, almost without reservation, felt that they had been accepted both by the students and their parents, although one white teacher remarked, "Sometimes I feel I am being discriminated against by my Negro students simply because I am white." While one Negro teacher indicated "concern over a prejudiced white parent," no Negro teacher indicated any difficulty with students. Commented another teacher, "Sometimes I have the feeling that the white kids are leaning over backwards to show me just how much they do want to cooperate. They are a grand group—all of them." Referring to the students at Harris Teachers College, the American Association of University Professors' Report observed, "All students seem to unite on one side with the instructor on the other. Students are students. Instructors are instructors. Color is forgotten."

Was Preparation Adequate?

While most of the St. Louis teachers (87.3 per cent) felt that their preparation had been adequate for teaching in mixed schools, a small group (3.3 per cent) of white teachers expressed a feeling of inadequacy, not so much from lack of training, but an "inability to understand the colored child's background." Said one teacher, "I don't know enough about Negro culture to learn what I should be learning from my pupils. I feel much more often than

formerly that I miss many allusions. Some days I feel I am teaching a mission school."

The majority opinion, however, was reflected in the question raised and answered by many teachers, "Why should there be any difference in techniques? Pupils are pupils," and another teacher's somewhat wry comment that he felt "as adequate as I felt for segregated classes."

Is Special Training Needed?

In general, both Negro and white teachers did not feel that special training was needed for the teaching of mixed classes. For the most part, emphasis was placed upon the teacher's own personality and general ability to teach children. Common sense, love of children, a desire to do what is best for them and a dedication to the teaching profession were listed most often as essential qualities for all teachers. A white teacher commented: "Children of all races are human beings and are very much alike all over the world. Any competent teacher knows this and treats each child as a person whatever his race." A Negro teacher recommended "special training only for the teacher who, within his own group, has not learned to live harmoniously with others." Another teacher added, "If teachers teach individuals or children—no; but if teachers teach races—yes. They should have courses in human relations."

While teachers did not feel the need for special courses as such, more than 75 per cent of the teachers recommended workshops in human relations as especially useful. As one teacher put it, "A course or workshop in human relations would help a teacher to distinguish between problems resulting from desegregation and those developing from normal, ordinary causes—but most important, once knowing the cause, how to deal with it intelligently."

White teachers predominated among the small number of teachers (10.7 per cent) who felt the need for special training and they recommended as most useful courses in speech correction, cultural anthropology, social psychology, mental hygiene and sociology. Courses which would give "special training for dealing with slow learners," and one which would "provide knowledge of the achievements of other races—non-white," were also listed as being desirable.

Did Integration Require Special Teaching Skills?

More important than "skills" as such is the attitude of teachers —"freedom from prejudice." This was the opinion of 79 per cent of the teachers questioned. Teachers felt that a mixed school required the exercise of more patience, understanding, tolerance, faith, flexibility, tact, firmness, a high sense of fair play, keener insight and a sense of humor.

There are, however, subtle socio-psychological factors which are involved in mixed classes which are not always brought out in surveys. White teachers, more often than Negro teachers, expressed the need "to be certain that the remarks I make do not hurt the feelings of others." Another white teacher was "constantly fearful that I may make a racial slip." A Negro teacher who had received complaints from her Negro students because she was calling on them too often in class simply because she knew them, admitted the need to check herself, "so now when I call on a Negro child who doesn't know the answer, I then call on a white child who doesn't know the answer to make certain that the same guilt feelings are started in both." A white teacher commented that when he called on a Negro child who did not know the answer, he would immediately call on another Negro child to give the correct answer.

Because, for the most part, they had been accustomed to teaching smaller classes, white teachers, more often than Negro teachers, expressed the need for special skills in the handling of a large number of children with widely-varying backgrounds in a single classroom. Negro teachers, on the other hand, were experiencing, perhaps for the first time, "what it really feels like to be able to teach manageable-sized classes." One teacher commented, "I can now give to students more of the individual attention they deserve. At the Negro school, because of such extremely crowded classrooms, I had to spend most of my time maintaining order, trying to find enough space to turn around in, and then teach as best I could under these circumstances."

Teachers on the whole admit that desegregation has brought no new problems as such—but rather intensified their problems. The teaching job is, for some, much harder. To most, it represents a challenge.

What About Negro "Cultural" Differences?

Many teachers are realizing, perhaps for the first time, that "cultural differences" existing between Negro and white students are socio-economic rather than racial, and that irrespective of color, where children have had the same type of exposures they tend to act alike. With respect to such differences, one teacher commented, "Before being in a mixed situation I felt there were decided cultural differences which could be attributed solely to race, but I now know this is not true. In observing both Negro and white pupils living in the same neighborhood, I find they think alike, play the same games, wear similar clothes, their likes and dislikes are similar, their expressions are the same, their parents have about the same educational background; the children, both white and Negro, tell you the same things about what's happening in their families; their home training appears to be about the same; there is the same respect or lack of respect for property."

Another teacher in a transitional neighborhood, where the economic level of the Negro families appears to be somewhat higher than that of the whites, observed: "When I took my class on a field trip downtown, I took a poll and found more white than Negro children had never ridden a public bus or been in any large stores downtown. Many experienced riding an elevator for the first time." A white teacher's experience in a similar neighborhood brought forth the comment, "Negroes who came to our school were more mannerly than the white children. The Negroes also have better grooming habits. We see some Negroes lowering their standards to the 'white level.' We are sorry for this." However, in another area, where the economic level of the white group appears to be higher, a teacher pointed out, "Differences are obvious, but we have found that with desegregation a number of different social types have moved in. We have Negro pupils who are definitely limited in their backgrounds, but no more limited than some of the slow-moving whites who have just migrated from the deep South where there has been a similarly limited environment as compared with what we have in this neighborhood."

One teacher raised the question, "What is this 'cultural difference' all about? For years there have been many other minority groups (ethnic groups) with professed cultural and educational differences that have been taught in so-called white schools with no detrimental effect upon the white student." Another teacher

commented, "Certainly there are cultural differences, but there are 'cultural differences' within the white race that a good teacher has had to plan for; therefore, if a teacher knows how to take care of these problems, he or she should be able to do so in a Negro-white situation." Another teacher, observing differences, considered them challenging, and insisting that such differences are not associated with race, said, "These differences, which have nothing at all to do with either the race or innate ability of the student, have, I believe, helped to enliven the teaching by making whatever differences that may exist worthwhile. You can see the value of good cultural habits and stress them with both racial groups."

However, a few teachers (3.2 per cent) observed definite "cultural differences" which they attributed to race, as one who said, 'Negro cultural differences are obvious and seem to have some effect on the whites, but I can't measure it as yet."

"For whatever it is worth," responded another teacher, however, "Negro cultural differences do not exist in the class for the gifted."

These teachers' comments reveal that school children in a typically heterogeneous American city like St. Louis are drawn from a variety of social backgrounds and economic levels which reflect differences that are often referred to as "cultural." In this country, we have cultural differences by social class and by ethnic background, but we also have a common general culture. There is no culture which can be classified as specifically Negro; social scientists do not recognize the Negro as a distinct cultural group. That such cultural differences as do exist between so-called racial groups are due to social exposure rather than heredity is recognized by most of the teachers without reservations. Cultural differences are perceived by most of the teachers to be the effects of training, just as one remarks that disadvantaged Southern white children have the same standards as some Negro children similarly placed. The unrealistic view of such differences as being racial plus cultural generally seems to disappear when the teacher has opportunities to observe the wide variations in behavior among both Negro and white pupils.

How Were Academic Standards Affected?

At all levels, there have been slight program modifications to accommodate the new students. While the kind and amount of

change varied from school to school, there is the general opinion among teachers that up to the present time there has been no lowering of academic standards with desegregation. Teachers agreed that they had been informed that *standards should not be lowered.* Said one teacher, "If a student has a poor background there is no need to lower standards. It seems to me the best thing to do is to challenge the child to do the job. A few failures will change a great many lazy habits." Another said, "If the teacher is not inhibited in the number of failures, the academic standards need not be lowered."

Teachers have found that in racially mixed classes there are superior, average and poor students among both racial groups, but that the "spread at the lower limit is perhaps greater." Teachers admit that overcrowded schools, sub-standard facilities, a large influx of students from the more impoverished Southern areas can and do influence the classroom situation. The majority of Negro students who have entered white schools have been the product of over-crowded schools where there was not only less individual attention but, one teacher declared, "the Negro child had to be passed to the next grade almost without reference to his general competence, simply to make room for another child to take his place. This was not true in the less crowded white schools where more individual attention could be given, and a child who was not ready for the next grade could be allowed to repeat this grade without causing a hardship on other students. That this difference would show up should be expected, but this does not necessarily mean the lowering of standards."

While differences were practically non-existent at the elementary school level, the uneven elementary school training is more apparent at the high school level. Poor study habits, intellectual laziness, tardiness, absenteeism, lack of proper grounding in the fundamentals, and difficulties in oral and written expression were listed by teachers as problems more characteristic of Negro than white students. Differences in the grading system have also proved to be a problem for some teachers. Negro children had been accustomed to receiving much higher grades than they are now receiving in the mixed schools. In pointing out these problems, teachers were careful to note that the differences which show up are not due to lack of innate ability, but rather to the type of environment and learning situations to which the Negro child has been exposed. They are but the clear reflections of limited socio-economic back-

grounds, the lack of motivation, and the dual standards engendered by a bi-racial educational system and a segregated society.

Instead of lowering standards, a minority of teachers (2.3 per cent) had observed an actual raising of standards with mixed classes. As one teacher put it, "Actually there is a strong desire on the part of the Negro child to overcome whatever handicap his earlier limited environment imposed on him. There is also observable a trend on the part of some white students who had more or less taken for granted the inferiority of the Negro student to work much harder when he sees that in many instances the Negro student is not only his equal, but in some cases his superior. Lowering of academic standards? Hogwash!"

On the lowering of academic standards, the following statement from one teacher summarizes the point of view of many: "In my opinion, desegregation is bringing into focus what has been the condition of the schools for some time. For many years now, there has been a general lowering of academic standards in our schools, and race as such has had nothing at all to do with it. Desegregation has brought no new problems; our already present problems have simply been brought into sharper focus. What probably is the case is that we are now looking more realistically and critically at what we are and are not doing for *all* our children, not necessarily just racially, but with students of varying abilities."

What About "Social Mixing"?

Negro students have been well accepted in extra-curricular activities. In the underpopulated schools, the entrance of Negro students was particularly welcomed by white students who announced, "Now we have a real athletic team," or "Now our band is real cool." Students have been quick to recognize the special talents and abilities of other students and have not been reluctant in making their preferences known. Without hesitation, white students have nominated Negro students for club offices, and vice versa. One teacher commented, "To see the kids at work and play you would think this thing has been going on all the time; they are so natural about it all."

However, the area in which there has been the greatest amount of concern, caution, and frustration has come in the strictly "social affairs," often referred to as "social mixing." Throughout the sys-

tem, it is understood that there must be no activities carried on either by or through the school which will embarrass any student. How to handle this is the problem of each individual school. At Harris Teachers College, while all extra-curricular activities are open and well integrated, Greek letter organizations are still segregated. This is true of both Negro and white fraternal organizations whose national policy governs qualifications regarding membership. Thus, sororities and fraternities may still have closed dances but they must be invitational. If a fraternal organization sells tickets to an affair then everybody will have to be admitted.

High schools have approached the problem of social affairs in many ways. One principal stated that his school was not having any social affairs, while another was having them with restrictions, and still another was taking a permissive attitude, saying to the organizations, "Have them if you choose." One principal created concern on the part of students when, in permitting them to have a dance, he suggested that each come with his own date and that there should be no mixing. This remark was resented by a white student who said, "I don't think he should have said anything. He stirred up a lot of kids and started them thinking about it and made them self-conscious at the dance. I think the kids would have come to the dance like they did even if he had said nothing."

Social activities have been further curtailed because of the continued pattern of racial segregation in the community. Dances heretofore held in downtown hotels have been discontinued because of the still not-too-completely open policy regarding the admission of Negroes on a large scale. In the high school program, those school activities which are carried on in places outside the school have had to be curtailed. There is evidence of a beginning tendency of displaced aggression on the part of the white student toward the Negro, blaming the Negro for "causing it all." One student remarked, "Integrating the Negro students into our schools has caused us to lose out on all our activities; it's all because they are in our schools that we can't go to these places any more." This suggests an immediate need for teachers and school officials to point out to white students that the restrictions on social affairs are not caused by Negroes but by a community which is still to achieve the ideal of complete democratic participation. It also suggests how segregation in other community activities and

institutions can serve to complicate the integration of the public schools.

Despite these handicaps, normal friendships appear to be developing and some students are finding that their school activities "have really become alive and meaningful with students who have had different kinds of experiences, but who are not very much different from ourselves."

What Are the "Special Problems"?

Teachers were of the opinion that there had been no health problems created by desegregation. "How to deal with prejudiced white parents" was the problem most often mentioned by teachers as the one which retards integration and makes the job a harder one.

The majority of teachers (94 per cent), however, sensing no special problems, admitted that desegregation had worked either as well or much better than they had expected. One teacher confessed, "The things I had dreaded simply have not happened." Another commented, "It's amazing how quickly you can get over racial generalizations and stereotypes and begin to see and respect people as individuals. This, I believe, is impossible in a segregated society."

Teachers agreed that no more problems have arisen than have been found in segregated groups. "Simply because we have the two races together," commented one teacher, "there is a tendency to assign racial significance to problems which are simply problems. This is to be expected, I would think, at least until people *stop talking so much about race and integration, and start talking about students and education.*"

It is generally recognized that desegregation does not essentially change the problems of public school education. It very likely will accentuate them. However, one can safely predict from the St. Louis experience that where sound educational practices reign, desegregation will be taken in stride; where less healthy procedures have grown up, there may be trouble.

CHAPTER V

THE FIRST YEAR: AN APPRAISAL

At the beginning of the new school year in 1955, *Time* magazine rated the progress of 17 Southern and border states toward school desegregation. Missouri was the only state to receive a grade of "A." *Time* said at that time, "State educational authorities estimate that 80 per cent of Missouri's 55,000 Negro children are now studying alongside 550,000 whites; there has been no friction."

Since approximately one-half of Missouri's Negro children are being educated in St. Louis, it would be interesting to learn how the people of St. Louis see their progress in retrospect.

"If we had to do it again, we would do it the same way," was the opinion of Superintendent Philip G. Hickey and other school officials after observing their plan in operation for a year. To be sure, there have been the natural and normal problems associated with any change. And there have been a few minor problems which might be directly attributed to desegregation. However, all problems were viewed in their proper context, "without undue alarm or frustration."

Even within the short space of a year, it is clear that the St. Louis school system has been itself improved in the process of desegregation. From the purely economic point of view, integrated districting has made possible the fullest use of all school facilities through the elimination of unnecessary duplications, reduction in expenses of transportation—only 26 buses are now required in the city as against 36 before desegregation—and elimination of waste in classrooms at a time when they are at a premium. For many teachers and children, elimination of segregation means smaller classes.

As important as are the monetary savings, officials contend "there are the spiritual and intellectual values"—the importance of which was emphasized in the Supreme Court decision—that

are increasingly being realized in the St. Louis system. Whatever their personal attitudes, school officials, teachers, students, parents and members of the community were "willing to give it a try." The deep sense of pride that "things are working out well" is due in no small part to the united effort of many concerned, convinced, and dedicated individuals. School officials are quick to say, "We could not have done it without the community," while the community credits the eased transition to the "definitive, positive and clear-cut plan" of the Board. Commented one citizen, "It was a systematic and well thought-out plan, with teeth in it, and backed by a courageous Board." School officials, teachers and members of the community alike say, "Leave it to the kids; the kids did it." They are all right. St. Louis planned its transition with *all* the people.

Most citizens agree that the St. Louis community was ready for desegregation. Contributing significantly toward this community readiness was the successful desegregation of the Catholic parochial schools some seven years earlier. No person could convincingly argue, "It can't be done," for indeed *it had been done—successfully.* However, having a successful past pattern did not offset completely the standard fears often expressed with respect to desegregation—health problems, cultural differences, social behavior and the lowering of academic standards. A year's experience has proved these fears to be as groundless in St. Louis as indeed they have been proved to be without valid foundation elsewhere.

There is no evidence to support the fear that Negro children present a health hazard for white children. Cultural differences are socio-economic, not racial; children of similar backgrounds tend to act alike irrespective of race. There has been no lowering of academic standards. Among Negro students there were the superior, average and below average as was the case with white students. While the teachers admit that desegregation has brought no new problems, the old problems have been intensified with this "greater spread in abilities." To be sure, inequities inherent in a dual educational system and a segregated society have been brought into sharper focus with desegregation. This is to be expected. There is, however, sufficient evidence resulting from scientific research to support the conclusion that *the academic handicap resulting from segregated education is not a permanent one.* Kenneth Clark,

in commenting upon the research of the psychologist Otto Klineberg, reveals that when Negro children are transferred from segregated schools to non-segregated schools with higher educational standards they tend to make up their academic deficiencies within a few years.

"There is no evidence to support the belief," says Clark, "that while the Negro child is overcoming the handicap of an inferior education that the white child is disadvantaged." Actually, it has been observed that white students who had more or less taken for granted the basic inferiority of the Negro student have been challenged to work harder once they observed that the Negro group is no more homogeneous in their intellectual abilities than any other group. After having shared classrooms with Negroes, 92 per cent of the white St. Louis high school students, rating the relative ability of Negro and white students on a scale ranging from poor to superior, concluded that Negro and white students are the same—"average." Less than 1 per cent of the students rated Negro students as "inferior," and a small percentage (1.5) rated Negro students as "superior." Similarly, there has been complete acceptance of Negro teachers by white students.

A questionnaire designed to get the reactions of teachers and students on how desegregation is working and some of the positives and negatives, as they saw them, revealed that both teachers and students believe that desegregation is working "as well" and "better than they had expected." Both teachers and students agree that students have adjusted to each other "very well." While there have been active and effective mothers' clubs in most schools, sympathetic adults, parent groups, and the PTA, all of whom have worked positively in support of desegregation, 87 per cent of both students and teachers described the adjustment of parents to desegregation as ranging from "poor" to "fairly well."

What Are the Positives Growing Out of Desegregation?

THE NEGRO STUDENT LISTED:

"A better feeling of democracy in the United States, and better prepared children for the future."

"Negro students study more. There is more of an incentive."

"Integration has given us a chance to prove that the two races are about the same in intelligence, beliefs and actions."

"It has done much to remove the feeling of inferiority from the Negro student."

"I am having opportunities I never dreamed of. For instance, our senior class had a skating party at an ice skating rink and neither I nor any of the other Negro kids had ever been to a skating party."

"It is teaching all of us the ways of democracy; but this is especially true for the white kids who have never had a chance to practice it."

"The teachers are wonderful. They seem to take a real interest in you. I seem to be learning better. It may be because it is less crowded and I am better satisfied."

"Who wants to be reminded on every hand that he is inferior and set aside as segregation has done? Integration is wiping this out."

"I am learning that white people are no different from my own people. There are some that are decent; some are not. Fortunately there are more of the good than the bad."

"White students are learning that all Negro people aren't stupid; and Negro kids are learning that all white people are not mean and hateful."

"Integration makes you feel like a human being. The St. Louis officials, teachers and all the students have worked hard to make it a success."

"No matter how many times people tell you something, it is the actual experience that counts. We have found through experience that integration can work and all of us are better as a result of the experience."

"It has made me feel like putting forth my every effort. Already I can see a difference in how I approach things and what I will be able to accomplish as far as my future is concerned."

"I have learned to like people. I am ashamed that I hated white people simply because I thought they hated me. I have found out this is not true."

"We are finding out just how much we have in common; it is working out well."

"The United States has now become united."

"Out athletics are better now."

"We are losing our fears; all those we had because of ignorance of each other."

"I now have a chance to develop friends on the basis of common interests rather than along racial lines. I am happy that now I have Negroes whom I consider among my good friends."

"It is teaching us how to get along with all races and creeds; this will be necessary in our success in later life."

"It has made us all realize that the Negro kids are just as nice and intelligent as the whites; I have several Negro friends."

"I am getting to know what Negroes are like and the different things they do and like. I am beginning to think they are almost like us."

"I have learned that all Negroes are not rough and wise-cracking; some are very nice and I like them. But, then, all whites are not nice either."

"I wish the whole nation, especially the deep South could see our school and see how much better we all are with this heavy burden off of us—prejudice and exploiting the Negro is what I mean."

"Prejudices and superstitions have been disbanded with integration."

"We are one step closer to brotherhood. I believe the next problem that should be conquered is religious prejudice."

"I like the Negro teachers very much. They are patient and kind and are good teachers, too. I have one teacher who is very sweet and knows how to control a class too."

"We are learning that race prejudice has no basis once you know people."

"We are proving to the world, at long last, that we *really believe* that 'all men are created equal.'"

2

FOR THE TEACHERS, THESE WERE THE POSITIVES:

"White pupils are accepting Negro students on an equal basis."

"The democratic spirit prevails."

"Good teacher-pupil relationship."

"Great sense of justice and fair play."

"Respect for individuals in lieu of racial generalizations and stereotypes."

"Friendly acceptance on the part of white students has made the Negro student feel accepted in his new environment."

"There seems to be, for the most part, a total 'unconsciousness of race' on the part of both students and teachers."

"We are recognizing ability where we find it; race has no part or place."

"Respect, courtesy, and consciousness on the part of both groups to be at their best. There was less of this tendency in the segregated school."

"The children who had known each other already in the neighborhood are now having a chance to go to school together. It's a much more normal thing and everyone seems to be happy about it—both the Negro and white kids."

"At the primary level, where children accept each other in a normal wholesome fashion, it is good to know that they will have the opportunity to grow up in a more democratic environment. They haven't learned the prejudices; they don't know how yet to discriminate. It is wonderful to see them at work; it is equally wonderful to know that they will have this opportunity of working together throughout the school system. We have all gotten a spiritual lift just out of watching how natural and uninhibited children are. Their normal instincts, which are their better instincts, are being given a chance."

What Are the Negatives?

While the majority of the students (90.2 per cent) answered "There are none," and one student replied, "There can be no negatives, only positives, for integration is right," there were a few (5.7 per cent) at the other extreme, who, "disapproving of this whole idea of integration," felt "nothing good has come out of

desegregation, only problems." This group sees the Negro student as an "intruder," either "taking over the school," or "standing back, not cooperating" because "their real loyalties remain at the Negro school." "The few students who refuse to accept desegregation and cause trouble among those who are willing to accept" were listed by 2 per cent of the students as being the greatest impediment to progress.

FOR THE WHITE STUDENT, THE "NEGATIVES" MOST OFTEN LISTED WERE:

"Our schools are too crowded."

"It is now clear, Negroes don't want to be equal, they want to be superior."

"There is far too much sympathy toward the Negro in this integration deal."

"A few of the Negroes can't take a joke."

"The principal talks too much about integration."

"The Negroes are beginning to really think they are smart and equal."

"Our social activities have been curtailed."

"My parents believe all this integration will lead to intermarriage."

"A divided school with no school spirit. The Negro kids still have their interest and loyalty at their old schools."

"Some of the old southern arguments still persist among some students and it makes for bad feelings."

"Our school can no longer have some of the clubs it used to have."

"They want to associate with us."

"Negroes now think they are big wheels. Within a generation no one will be able to live with them. My parents say so."

THE NEGRO STUDENT LISTED FEW NEGATIVES:

"Some of the anti-Negro, Jewish, Mexican and Chinese racial jokes by white students."

"White students blame Negro kids because their social activities have been cut."

"Prejudiced white parents make some kids act nasty. A girl in gym wouldn't take my hand because her parents had told her not to touch me."

"Some teachers are still prejudiced and regardless of how hard you work you get bad grades."

"I think some of us are not treated right. Nothing you can put your hand on exactly, so to speak."

TEACHERS SAID:

"Negroes are sensitive; their earlier conditioning has made them so."

"No opportunity for social contacts outside class."

"Teacher-pupil ratio is too high."

"Negroes have had the disadvantage of being uprooted and sent to a new school."

"The persistence of certain racial stereotypes in the minds of a few prejudiced whites."

"The difficulty of reconciling the democratic attitude within the school with the very undemocratic attitude outside the school. These failures make integration within the school a harder job."

It seems clearly evident from the comments of administrators, teachers, and students that desegregation of the public schools has had a profound influence in changing many of the preconceived ideas which each racial group held toward each other. There is a heightened sense of mutual understanding and respect among all individuals. Teachers are learning that "the (negative) things they had expected to happen just didn't happen." False ideas about race are fast disappearing. There are, to be sure, the remnants of a segregated society reflected in the over-sensitivity of some Negro students, and the desire on the part of a minority of whites to view the Negro in terms of stereotyped definitions.

The "two-edged sword" of segregation has its effect on both races. Polling some 500 social scientists for their opinion on the psychological effects of enforced segregation, Deutscher and Chein found that 90 per cent felt that enforced segregation was detrimental to those at whom it was directed, and 83 per cent were of the opinion that enforced segregation had a detrimental effect on the group which enforced it. While it is the Negro child upon

whom segregation imposes the "stigmata of inferiority," the white child in a segregated society is also harmed. Encouraged to expect and demand privileges and rewards solely on the basis of his membership in the majority group, he is given a distorted picture of reality.

For the Negro child, desegregation has meant a greater incentive, new experiences, an increase in his own self-respect and a corresponding respect and understanding of people who he had felt disliked him. Though for the most part the Negro student is making an exceedingly happy adjustment to his teachers and classmates, this adjustment is hampered somewhat by the minority of white students who, prompted by their elders, continue to think of the Negro in stereotyped terms.

For the white child, desegregation has meant the loss of fear of the Negro and release of a sense of guilt. It has meant new experiences—seeing the Negro and respecting him as a person on his own merit, thus eliminating many prejudices and superstitions. Because the St. Louis community has yet to reach the democratic ideal which is beginning to be approached in the schools, white students are experiencing a curtailment of their social activities which is understandably disappointing. These disappointments and deprivations may well release aggressive tendencies. In compensation for their own feelings of frustration and denial, white students may resort to rationalizing "the low esteem and lack of social prestige of the Negro" as "causing it all." Here is an area to which the community might well address itself as one of its most urgent and pressing problems if it wishes to forestall a major point of friction. For only a good community can make children what we hope they will become.

Race prejudice and discrimination—part and parcel of a segregated society—are in direct conflict with democracy. Thus, unless we teach children, through democratic living and learning, that stereotyped racial attitudes are detrimental and inconsistent with our ideals, the future of democracy may be a precarious one.

From their comments, it is clear that adolescents are perceptive; they are fair; their instincts are wholesome; their ideals high. They want a better world, are willing to work for it, and "if given the chance, they will build it."

Has Integration Been Successful?

Both students and teachers were asked: "*Time* magazine rated Missouri 'A' in its approach to the desegregation of its schools. To what do you attribute the success in the St. Louis schools?"

"It is too early to talk about success; we haven't had a long enough time to try this out," was the reply of 5 per cent of the respondents. There were those (2 per cent) who thought that desegregation had brought more problems than it had solved. One student viewed "success" in terms of, "You do what you have to do, don't you?" However, 93 per cent of the students and teachers agreed with the *Time* rating.

TEACHERS ATTRIBUTED THE SUCCESS OF DESEGREGATION TO:

"Initial desegregation of the Catholic schools."

"People affected—pupils, parents, teachers, administrators —are making an honest effort in a spirit of faith and good will to comply with the Supreme Court decision. I think they believe this decision to be fair and just."

"Good planning, and a school board that was willing to back up its plan with force, if necessary."

"Planning and preparation of the community—a good community team."

"The choice of principals for the schools where desegregation would be on a large scale. The general acceptance by both races and a determination to make integration work."

"The very positive approach of our newspapers, especially *The St. Louis Post Dispatch.*"

"To an enlightened public, begun years earlier by Dr. Taba and her aides, the NCCJ and hosts of other wise people and organizations. Cooperation of all religious groups."

"A firm stand and direction from top administrators with attached penalties for lack of cooperation. Also a well-organized and enforced plan to immediately catch and prosecute offenders who failed to cooperate in every required respect."

"It was not over-publicized or talked about. We simply approached it as a matter of law, decency and something that was right and fair to do. There were no alternatives."

"The School Board was not influenced by 'fearful' citizens; the Board was willing to plan well, work hard, and *gamble* the success of this endeavor."

"No particular flag waving by either group. The natural course of events aided the adjustment in the schools."

"Well-defined steps. We knew where we were going. We also knew this was something that *had to work*. It hasn't been hard."

"The step-by-step timetable kept people from feeling that everything was happening at once. It kept down hysteria."

"The fact that desegregation was immediately acted upon and not thrown from one planning committee to another."

"A determined and forthright superintendent."

"The decentralized plan of administration. Each group was responsible for making integration work."

"It was simply an extension of a total plan. St. Louis has been working and moving toward full equality for all its citizens for some time. When the decision came, Missouri was ready psychologically. Fortunately, we had a Board of Education and a superintendent who were also ready with concrete plans and sufficient courage to put them into effect. The teachers and principals, as well as the students who have had to put the plan into effect should not be underestimated."

STUDENTS SAID:

"Cooperation is the key. Students don't care what color you are just so long as you have the school spirit. The old get up and go."

"One word, INTERGROUP YOUTH, made the difference. We were prepared to see people as people and not as races."

"We had a fair and just School Board, fair teachers, and kids more than willing to cooperate. Also we were prepared for the change."

"The members of both races approached desegregation intelligently. We didn't expect miracles—the result: we all got greater rewards than we ever dared believe possible."

"The kids were unwilling to take on the fears and prejudices of their parents. We were determined to make it work, and we were backed up on every hand with a wise School

Board, conscientious teachers, and some pretty nice community folks."

"I think the success is due almost entirely to the white kids. They leaned over backwards to make the Negro kids feel at home. They could have made the difference in whether or not integration would work."

"That's easy. In our school we started out on the right foot because our assistant principal at the time was a strong-armed ex-pro-football player."

"We wanted integration enough to try to make it work. It was just as simple and also just as hard as that."

"It's because the teachers do not favor one race better than the other; they teach as if the students are all of the same race."

"Our integration plan was well thought out and put into execution in an orderly fashion."

"Human Relations Clubs made all of us see likenesses among all people rather than concentrate on differences."

"The police didn't let the noisy, prejudiced people undermine the plan and desires of the decent people of the community. St. Louis is law-abiding."

"People in Missouri want to make the United States a better place to live in."

"We couldn't escape. At school we heard it, in our churches we were told it was the right thing to do, and a lot of other groups were convinced it was right."

"In the case of my own school, for nearly a whole semester before desegregation ended, our principal was speaking on the subject, and trying to prepare us for the change. I know that for a long time my friends and I got tired of hearing our principal as we said 'praise the Negroes,' but now I realize that he was just doing his job. He had to prepare us for this change, and I think that 'accounts for our success.'"

In summary, teachers attributed successful desegregation to (a) *a strong school board and school officials,* who acted promptly with a definite plan to be administered with firmness; a decentralized plan of administration (68.3 per cent); (b) initial *desegregation of the Catholic schools* (55.9 per cent); (c) *strong community leaders* (54.1 per cent); (d) *positive support of com-*

munity organizations, influence of the press, the church and law enforcement officials (49.2 per cent); (e) *preparation of community for desegregation* (36.5 per cent); and (f) St. Louis is law-abiding (12.1 per cent).

Students attributed success to (a) *preparation of students* through Intergroup Youth and Human Relations Clubs, also constructive work on the part of principals and teachers (79.1 per cent); (b) *cooperation on the part of students,* both Negro and white, to make desegregation work (59.1 per cent); (c) *fairness and firmness of teachers and administrators*—a desire on the part of both to make integration work (34.5 per cent); (d) *St. Louis is law-abiding;* "it is not deep South"; "it wanted to set an example for the rest of the Nation" (18.9 per cent).

How Does the Community Feel?

Like any other community, there are those citizens who view desegregation of the schools purely in legal terms—"It's the law; there's nothing you can do about it. St. Louis is law-abiding." For most citizens, however, with no less respect for the law, "It was the right thing to do," or, "St. Louis was ready."

St. Louis is proud of itself. The general community's acceptance of school desegregation is reflected in the Mound City Press Club's special award given to Archbishop Joseph E. Ritter of the Roman Catholic church for his pioneer work in desegregating the city's Catholic schools. Following the successful desegregation of the public colleges and high schools, and in recognition of his leadership, the St. Louis B'nai B'rith selected Superintendent of Instruction Philip J. Hickey to receive its annual award. On the anniversary of the Supreme Court decision, a public recognition ceremony, under the sponsorship of the Metropolitan Church Federation, was held on the steps of the historic courthouse where the Dred Scott decision was rendered. This time—100 years later—St. Louis was repudiating this decision in citing Superintendent Hickey for his role in implementing a Supreme Court decision, which said in part, "in the field of education the doctrine of 'separate-but-equal' has no place."

Perhaps one of the most insistent and recurring arguments advanced against desegregation is the great amount of time needed

to perfect change. But, there are attitude changes and social changes for which time as such is neither the all-compelling nor significant dimension. *More significant than time is the quality of experience.* Few, if any, would question the "quality of experience" both preceding and following desegregation as one of the important determining factors in the orderly transition from segregation to desegregation of the St. Louis schools.

While recognizing that much has been done, St. Louis realizes that many problems yet remain to be solved, for complete integration of the public schools is dependent upon other community services. It thus becomes increasingly incumbent upon the community to find out "how far and how fast its children can walk out into the community and have the kind of free movement implicit in our democracy." St. Louis has shown that improved community living can result from cooperative effort. It has also shown that participating in the improvement of community living is itself an education of the highest order.

CHAPTER VI

SOME GUIDING PRINCIPLES

The day the Supreme Court handed down the decision that found state laws permitting or requiring segregation in public schools unconstitutional, two things happened: American educators and community leaders were presented with the inescapable challenge of eliminating racial barriers in public education—and the need for tested guidelines to make the transition a successful one became everywhere apparent. Fortunately, out of the St. Louis experience and similar ones, we have seen that the challenge *can* be met, and that, already, guiding principles for those who have yet to make the change are being evolved.

One group of principles for accomplishing desegregation with a minimum of social disturbance has been set forth by Dr. Kenneth Clark. After a study of many recent instances of desegregation, Dr. Clark emphasizes the importance of (1) a clear and unequivocal statement of the new policy by acknowledged authorities and leaders with prestige; (2) firm enforcement of the new policy even in the face of continued resistance; (3) willingness to use the law and strong enforcement action to deal with violations; (4) refusal to tolerate any evasion of desegregation; (5) an appeal to the individuals immediately involved in terms of their religious principles and their acceptance of the American tradition of law observance, fair play and equal justice.

Any review of St. Louis' transition from segregated to desegregated schools immediately impresses one with the extent to which its procedure coincides with the above principles. The following summary of the St. Louis story, however, gives a fuller picture of the factors which led to successful implementation:

From the beginning, the St. Louis Board of Education *acted promptly and decisively.* As the people's elected representatives, they assumed the responsibility and initiative in working out an orderly transition of the schools in compliance with the Supreme

Court ruling. One month after the May 17th ruling (which was 13 days before Missouri's Attorney General declared the state's school segregation law "unenforceable"), the Board had already adopted—unanimously—a three-step plan for the desegregation of its public schools, with all steps to be completed within a year. Definite dates were set for each step, with each step paced as rapidly as administrative details could be worked out.

Once the plan was adopted and fixed, *school officials moved quickly and unhesitatingly toward implementation.* The plan was discussed thoroughly with all school personnel concerned. School officials conceived their chief responsibility to be that of working out administrative details, while the job of community preparation was largely taken over by interested citizens and organizations. School principals were made responsible for the successful implementation of the plan in their districts. They were told, as was their staff, that in implementing the new policy, *failure could not be thought possible, and that any negative attitude or device calculated to disrupt or delay the desegregation program would not be tolerated.* Since past experiences in changing from a segregated to a non-segregated policy led to the conclusion that indecision and prolonged debate only tend to increase resistance, there was no discussion as to *whether* or *if* the St. Louis schools should be desegregated, but rather, *how it might be done effectively.*

Through cooperating community leaders, school officials saw to it that everyone involved in the plan was kept well-informed at all times. Not only did the community know exactly what was happening, but they were brought into the process, helping to make it happen. This involvement—a sort of "togetherness"—undoubtedly helped create a climate favorable to community acceptance, and kept to a minimum the false interpretations, irrational pressures and rumors which inevitably accompany change.

While social scientists have discovered that desegregation can be successfully accomplished in what appears to be a highly prejudiced social setting, the transition is much smoother when supported by community leaders. Recognizing this, St. Louis school officials sought and obtained the services of community leaders in preparing the community for an orderly transition. For example, in key roles and working closely with one another were the regional director of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the director of the Jewish Community Relations Council and the

Consultant in Human Relations with the city schools—all of whom were in turn supported by leaders from practically every area of community activity. Thus, the community had ample leadership to keep them informed, and when necessary, interpret the changing social scene. While this kind of leadership reassured the community, the St. Louis human relations program—in effect for more than a decade—provided a firm ideological base from which teachers and students could operate with sureness of direction.

The acceptance of desegregation by the majority of the St. Louis citizens would seem to support the principle that where action is prompt and unequivocal, a minimum of friction is encountered. A review of experiences in other places indicates that *rapid desegregation shortens the period of anxiety and stress, limits the duration of overt resistance or controversy, and gains general community acceptance in less time than does a long, drawn-out process.* On the other hand, extended discussion of a contemplated policy, together with an indefinite terminal date, not only serve to accentuate negative attitudes, but also to provide opponents of the plan with an opportunity to regard the issue as essentially open and debatable.

St. Louis also demonstrated how strong and forthright leadership can minimize the inevitable social stress; how prompt dealing with any violation of law can keep down subversion, hate groups and even acts of violence; and it showed, once and for all time, that the bigot can be curbed when those in authority take their responsibility for law enforcement seriously and discharge this responsibility without personal prejudice.

This, then, is the St. Louis story. While admittedly much remains to be done in achieving an integrated society, the wise blending of many diverse elements has made this chapter of St. Louis' story one of success. As a result of desegregation, St. Louis is becoming a more unified and democratic American community, and its public schools are increasingly realizing those noble, spiritual and intellectual values which give meaning to our democratic way of life. The victories already won, however, have been victories for American democracy even more than they have been St. Louis successes. For reflected in the successful desegregation of the St. Louis schools is not only the growing maturity of the city of St. Louis and the state of which it is a part, but of the nation itself.

APPENDIX

SOME ADDITIONAL GUIDE LINES

Looking at the St. Louis program from another perspective, Frank Sskwor, the Consultant in Human Relations for the St. Louis Public Schools, reviews the ten-year program of education for better human relations in which the schools and the community had engaged, and sets forth the following fundamental principles which have been developed out of this experience, with examples to illustrate each principle:

PRINCIPLE 1—Specific problems in human relationships cannot be solved in isolation from the total social situation. A general attack on all prejudices will be more rewarding in the end than an attack on a specific prejudice.

> Started Intergroup Youth, drawing membership from those groups that were more or less frequently in tension situations: Negroes and whites; rich and poor; city and country; Protestant and Catholic; Jew and non-Jew; private school and public school, etc.

PRINCIPLE 2—Operate in a tender human relations area by using only those practices which are educationally justifiable.

> Letter-writing projects are considered to be good means of building up intercultural understanding. Rather than limiting them to international projects, allow the pupils to correspond with pupils of other cultural groups within the same locale.

PRINCIPLE 3—Get people of different groups together because of common interests, not because of curiosity over differences.

a. Intergroup Youth has been centered around the kinds of interests adolescents have—arts and crafts, work projects, club activities, music, discussions, etc.

b. A city-wide student council is now in its ninth year. Two representatives from each high school in the city—Negro and white, Catholic, Lutheran, private and public—meet once each four weeks for a discussion of problems of common concern to all high school students—e.g., sportsmanship, etc.

c. Interschool visits for special programs have been encouraged for the past ten years. These started by exchanging music organizations for programs at a school of a different race. Later, panel discussions and class visits were added. Style shows and cooking demonstrations were used for exchange visits.

PRINCIPLE 4—Young people make far greater progress in human relations than most adults are willing to admit or expect.

The Intergroup Youth movement has grown far beyond its original discussion stage. At the insistence of the young people, they embarked upon a program of community betterment. They organized a "work-project" group to decorate interracial community centers, sing carols and bring Christmas cheer to those in hospitals, make toys for needy children of all groups, etc. They formed dramatic and choral groups. An intergroup jazz band was organized in 1954 and made a number of public appearances.

PRINCIPLE 5—It is well to cooperate with any and all groups in the community which have a special interest in promoting good human relationships.

a. Two organizations, the National Conference of Christians and Jews and the Jewish Community Relations Council, were especially cooperative. These organizations have a professional interest in promoting good human relations. The National Conference of Christians and Jews from the beginning has been the sponsoring agency for Intergroup Youth, thereby relieving the schools of considerable expense and responsibility and making it possible for all schools, of whatever governing body they may be, to cooperate. Both organizations (NCCJ and JCRC) cooperated in supplying leadership to the youth organization. The Jewish Community Relations Council provided people for staff positions in both the St. Louis and Washington University workshops for teachers. The director of the National Conference served for several summers as a staff member at various workshops. Both organizations assisted the Intergroup Education Association (an organization of teachers) in many ways, providing financial assistance, serving on the steering committee, etc. In turn the schools were of considerable aid to both organizations. Many teachers contributed financially to this work, many others appeared on programs as speakers or panelists for the two organizations, and school personnel counselled with the leadership of the two organizations on matters of community procedure.

b. The Metropolitan Church Federation was a powerful factor in helping to prepare the community. Through its Commission on Racial and Cultural Affairs and on Religion and Education, it issued a number of pronouncements to be read in Protestant churches. It took an active part in preparing for any eventualities in the desegregation of high schools. A number of school personnel serve on its board and commissions.

c. The Mayor's Council on Human Rights has sponsored a celebration of Universal Declaration of Human Rights Day for the past few years.

d. The Catholic Interracial Council had a great deal to do with the shaping of community attitudes. The Catholic Parochial Schools were desegregated in 1947 and this Council was somewhat instrumental in stilling some of the protests. Several teachers and administrators are members of the Council.

e. The Catholic Secondary Schools Association asked the Intergroup Education Association to cooperate with it in staging a program for its convention based on intergroup education. This was done.

f. The Citizens Committee on Human Rights, an organization of individuals from a large number of community organizations, pooled its resources with those of the Intergroup Education Association to help plan programs and provide speakers and audio-visual aids, etc., to any community wishing to undertake a program aimed at helping desegregation.

g. One large and powerful union, desegregated in its membership, in 1951 proposed a series of eight steps designed to ready the schools for desegregation. The schools had already taken some of these steps and others were found not suitable, but educators appeared on radio programs in cooperation with representatives of the union and discussed the proposals. It was felt that this was a factor in helping to prepare the community.

h. The League of Women Voters prepared an excellent pamphlet entitled, "St. Louis Integrates Its Schools." This was of great value in explaining the background and reasons for the change. It included not only what the city schools were doing, but also proposals and steps taken in the county. Teachers and administrators provided valuable help in the preparation of this pamphlet.

i. On the whole, the press has been most cooperative over the past ten years. It has editorialized on the problems faced, and covered news features impartially. Perhaps its chief contribution has been in ignoring the small "hate" organization which has been the lone antagonistic force in the community.

PRINCIPLE 6—Teachers need greater preparation than do pupils.

a. Both local universities have, for the past several summers, offered workshops in human relations for teachers. More than 200 teachers have received intensive training in the local workshops and approximately 75 more have taken such training at out-of-town workshops. The National Conference of Christians and Jews was helpful in assisting teachers to get this training by acting as the distributing agency for scholarships.

b. Special consultant services in intergroup and human relations were provided to teachers for the past ten years. Starting with an original Committee on Intercultural Education this work has required the work of a consultant since 1945.

PRINCIPLE 7—Use trained teachers to train other teachers.

Several leadership training sessions were held to train teachers for the training of others. The Board of Education, in the fifth year of the program, hired Dr. Taba's staff to train eight teachers in the use of literature for better human relations. Following this, centers for the training of other teachers were set up in three neighborhoods. Another special leadership-training meeting was set up in 1953 when 42 specially prepared teachers met with Dr. Taba to discuss leadership problems.

PRINCIPLE 8—In the curriculum, use the contributions of all groups as a means of building understandings and appreciations.

a. A bulletin written on "Little Known People in American History" gave teachers valuable information for use in social studies classes.

b. Science teachers stressed the contributions of people of many backgrounds to the total scientific progress of our civilization.

PRINCIPLE 9—Use public programs to help educate the community.

a. Graduation programs were used very successfully to prepare the parents for desegregation and to improve relationships generally. A Negro high school combined sociodrama with its graduation program to help build better attitudes toward whites. Several elementary school graduation programs had themes centering on good human relations. Some teachers used their summer workshop as a means of preparing dramatic productions.

b. Several neighborhood associations took an active role in readying their communities for desegregation. Planning with skilled members of the Intergroup Education Association and the Citizens Committee on Human Rights, they prepared panel discussions, speaking programs, and the use of audio-visual materials quite effectively.

PRINCIPLE 10—Use the curriculum for the development of the whole child, for this will tend to eliminate the need for tensions.

It was found necessary to diagnose the needs of children—their human relations needs—before trying to bring about effective cures to their prejudices. Diagnostic techniques found useful were sociometry, for studying social relationships; open-end statements, for analyzing feelings of security or insecurity; sociodrama, for studying student reactions in certain situations; diaries and autobiographies, to get an understanding of certain adult-child relationships; and case studies of a few troubled individuals.

PRINCIPLE 11—Use an emotional appeal intelligently. This involves considerable preparation of those who are to have the emotional experience.

a. Intergroup Youth stages an annual program given during the school day, attended by 1,600 students from 35 high schools in the area. The opening program features skits from about 15 schools. Popular local disc jockeys act as masters of ceremonies. A name speaker gives the stamp of official approval to the program of the day. This preparation readies the students to walk a block to a nearby community center, partake of a box lunch together, and be ready for an afternoon of mixed athletics, some of which requires close cooperation. A closing program usually features a staging of some of the afternoon activities in miniature and the appearance of a name personality from stage or screen. Thus the program closes on an emotional appeal and the pupils carry away the message of the day to apply in their future relationships.

b. The city-wide student council started nine years ago with rather simple discussions. As they gradually got acquainted they took on more serious problems such as safety at the stadium, framework of a local student council, interracial athletics, sportsmanship at athletic contests, etc. The involvement, both intellectual and emotional, of these students is rather wonderful to behold. Recently they agreed to open each meeting with silent prayer—silently because any kind of formalized prayer might conflict with the religious beliefs of some of the members.